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A STUDY OF CONSERVATISM  
IN THE 1968 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION  
ITS ROLE IN THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the Department of Political Science  
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by  
Vincent Piekarski  
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## INTRODUCTION

The year 1968 seems to have been a culmination of political and social discontent in the United States. Politically it seems to have been the failure of eight years of a democratic administration to solve some of America's foreign and domestic problems. This entails the social problems of poverty, the Negro, and civil rights. In the 1968 election the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement were perhaps the two most important issues in American politics. They split or fragmented American opinion enough to give a strong impetus to a third party movement. Undoubtedly the Vietnam War and civil rights movement created a condition of unrest, discontent or strain on the stability of the American political system of representative democracy. According to American democratic theory, those who govern are the representatives of the people who elect them. Those who govern are to be responsive and responsible to the American electorate. But accusations of the "establishment"(those who govern) have been made by segments of the American people. These accusations range from a radical condemnation of the political system itself as an exploiter of man on the political left to a reactionary condemnation of the "sell out" of the American people by the recent administration on the right. Obviously the reactions of these people can

range from anarchy (supposedly complete freedom from governmental restraint) to complete law and order (governmental suppression of freedom). One can see the reactions of the students for a Democratic Society and George C. Wallace's American Independent Party movement as stemming from the discontent in American society. Individuals and groups face many tensions, have many anxieties, frustrations, and bewilderments in the complex industrial society that they live in. It seems the central problem is change--political and social. The arguments are in, and it is agreed change is needed on the following issues:

The Vietnam War must be ended.

Law and order in our streets and cities must be maintained.

The Negro and other minorities must be given first class citizenship.

Poverty must be wiped out or lessened.

Tax relief to the middle class is essential.

Colleges and universities must adapt to a modern age and be responsive to the needs of students.

These issues are minor when it comes to the way change is to be instituted in a democratic society. Is it to be within the traditional bounds of two party politics? Will it be within the fragmentation of the political system--a third party. Or is it to be outside the systems of party politics--in violence, and anarchy--destruction of the political system itself? All three alternatives have been witnessed by Americans



in 1968. City and ghetto riots, college and university demonstrations, and the events surrounding the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago demonstrate attempts at change outside the "rules of the game" of the political system.

The political "right" as well as "left" reacted to the events building up in 1968. Change was attempted through George Wallace's American Independent Party movement. It is important to realize it was an attempt to change the system through the democratic "rules of the game," not outside these rules as the political left espouses; though at times Wallace's speeches and supporters resorted to violence in word and deed as did the Students for a Democratic Society. Obviously the political left and right seen here are extreme. But the tactics of the left seemingly lead to violence and near anarchy as at the 1968 Democratic Nominating Convention in Chicago. The radical groups at the political left have made it known that they are dissatisfied with American society and will try to tear its established institutions down, while Wallace and his followers have a different set of values. These values are those of representative democracy and the wish to change the government by challenging the established rulers through elections. As it was, neither the political left nor right had a majority to win the 1968 Presidential election where moderation prevailed. This could be considered as trends toward conservatism and liberalism which have importance to a



future America. That a conservative moderate won office in 1968 emphasizes the importance that conservatism is an important trend in the political thinking of American voters. This is not to say the political left is not an important subject of study, but conservative thought, more than liberal thought, dominated American politics.

The object of this paper is the study of conservatism and its relationship to George Wallace's third party movement in his 1968 Presidential bid. Important in such a study is not so much party organization, but that of ideology or political thinking. Why did Wallace appeal to as many people as he did? What are the social-psychological characteristics of the people who found Wallace so appealing? These answers will hopefully come from an analysis of two trends in political thinking--conservatism and authoritarianism.

This paper will be in two parts. First the investigation of conservatism and authoritarianism in relation to two important aspects in southern politics will be studied--states rights as a traditional political norm and civil rights. This investigation will hopefully explain and justify the analysis of conservatism and authoritarianism in an empirical survey of southern voters. The second part is a report on an empirical survey based on a questionnaire to measure various social-psychological attitudes. The survey is by no means comprehensive. It will be more of a pilot project. A highly selective sample

will be used to take into account socio-economic status, party affiliation and a percentage of the 1968 Presidential vote for a small southern city.

## CHAPTER I

### THE SOUTH

The object of the study of conservatism is the appeal of George C. Wallace as a presidential candidate to the American public in 1968. His appeal in 1968 seemed to be based on his condemnation of three areas of national life: centralized government, the federal courts (the Supreme Court), and the national news media.<sup>1</sup> The dominant issue seems to be a reaction to centralized government, and national life.

This seems to express an element of state's rights that has its roots in southern tradition. Its appeal comes from two basic aspects of a state's rights that has developed in southern soil for two centuries. One is the development of individual civil liberties against a central government in the guise of property rights as a cultural norm. The other is a strain of authoritarianism often found in a conservative ideology and the concept of community.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "The Public Record of George C. Wallace," CQ Guide to Current American Government, Special Pre-Election Issue. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, Fall, 1968, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The definition of the concept of community will rely upon F. Tonnies' formulation of the gemeinschaft-gesellschaft thesis. Initial references made to Fritz Pappenheim, The Alienation of Modern Man, passim.

Wallace's state's rights ideology seems to have roots in these two aspects of southern culture.

A brief look at the historical development of property rights would provide a better explanation. As the South developed individual civil liberties in the guise of property rights, it did so to counteract the power of a centralized government over local autonomy. This point is even more important if one realized the South developed an agrarian economy based on ownership of land and slaves as one of the most prized possessions. Wealth came from the source of land so the southern states sought to protect it and its products from an industrial and commercial North. But an important point to make is that early American democracy gave the right to vote and consequently self-government to a landed gentry.<sup>3</sup> As gradual expansion of suffrage came about over the American states, except perhaps for one exception--slavery--property rights were extended over the Negro slave and remained that way for nearly a century. This right became a heritage tied in with state's rights and the inferiority of the Negro. The Civil War seemed to decide the problem of slavery and the problem of the federal government over the states.

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<sup>3</sup> Robert E. Lane, Political Life, pp. 9-10.



Legally the problem was solved, the Negro was free, but still inferior and segregated from the "white man's world."

Since the Civil War, until the Supreme Court rulings of 1954 on desegregation, most notable Brown vs. The Board of Education, the southern states have kept a segregated society. The century following the Civil War, the inculcation of cultural norms has helped indoctrinate the idea of a segregated society as well as the importance of property rights.<sup>4</sup> With the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century, the South has had to face some destruction of their cultural norms. These norms still seem to value property rights over civil rights (especially the Negro's); a segregated society in mind, if not in law; and a basically conservative agrarian economy.

These thoughts seem to have credence as far as the early part of the twentieth century might show. But since that time, the industrial, urban technology of a modern society has made inroads. The southern United States is no longer a rural, agrarian society based on a minority of landed estates, "king" cotton and a majority of middle and lower class people who looked up to the ruling minority

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15.

for leadership. The conservative, especially rural, southerner has had to face this onslaught of a modern society with all its pressures, strains, and anxieties. His world is no longer as simple as his cultural background might suggest. Of course this is only one facet of the changing South, but to the analysis of conservatism in the American Independent Party, one of the most important. The other facets show a progressive, industrial, commercial and technologically modern man. An important variable posed between the "old" South and the "new" South here is the concept of community or gemeinschaft.

Ferdinand Tonnies' formulation of the gemeinschaft-gesellschaft type of societies provides an important basis for an analysis of conservative and authoritarian trends of political thinking. Much research and theory since Tonnies seem to have taken his theory as a starting point, especially in systems analysis.<sup>5</sup> Tonnies' aim was

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<sup>5</sup> Many writers in sociology have been accredited with using Tonnies' thought as the foundation for systems theories. Pitirim Sorokin in his Sociological Theories of Today states "'grand systems' of sociology use the principle and generalization of . . . M. Weber, E. Durkheim, F. Tonnies, S. Freud, K. Marx" and others (p.128). Talcott Parsons in The Structure Of Social Action states "Tonnies' classification . . . do involve distinctions of basic importance." That is they are "acceptable as the basis for a general classification of social relationships," but this is to be done reservedly. (p.694) Parson's pattern variables are also an expansion of Tonnies'



to describe as well as map the types of society that resulted from a specific type of social relationship.<sup>6</sup> The core of his two types of social relationships are based upon "nautral will" and "rational will"<sup>7</sup> which when extended among a majority of a society's human groups, determine whether the society is gemeinschaft or gesellschaft. The translation of gemeinschaft is usually taken to mean "community" or "sense of community," while gesellschaft is usually translated as "society" or "association," with the latter being favored here as a term to avoid ambiguity and point to the contrast between "community" and "association,"<sup>8</sup> even though association can be used to define a group or social relationship in either "community" or "society."

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classification of social relationship. Many political scientists seem to reflect Tonnies' classification also, especially when writing about underdeveloped nations and the process they are going through from traditionalism to modernity as in D.Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society, Modernizing the Middle East. Also Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in the Civic Culture describe types of cultures that seem to vary on the basis of Tonnies' classification: parochial, subject, and participant political cultures.

<sup>6</sup>Ferdinand Tonnies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft), translated by Charles P. Loomis, pp. xv, 18-19.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-16.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 378.

The important aspect of either "community" or "association" is that a predominant type of social relationship usually pervades a given society. This would mean that people would govern their human relationships and activity on the basis of "natural will" or "rational will." The question then is how does the human act of volition operate and how does it effect conservative and/or authoritarian thinking?

In the use of "natural will" social relationships are formed on the basis of friendship, on neighborliness, and on blood relationships. Human interaction takes place through the expression of a man's "inherited mode of thought and perception," his "forefathers' influence, his sentiment, his mind, and heart, his conscience."<sup>9</sup> The "rational will" then is expressed through analytic thinking and is the "directing agent"<sup>10</sup> for human interaction and the formation of social relationships. Tonnies is quite clear not to require one type of volition to the exclusion of the other, both can exist together, but the "natural will" must precede the "rational will" developmentally. Thus young people and women will tend to base relationships on "natural will" because of their

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. xvi.

age and roles requiring closer personal and emotional human bonds, while men and older people tend to use a "rational will" because of their age and experience and professional role as worker, businessman, scientist, etc.<sup>11</sup> One way of viewing the difference is that "natural will" is based upon close personal and emotional relationships governed by tradition, sometimes irrationality, non-rationality and even sometimes irrationality. But "rational will" is based upon a contracted type of relationship rationally selected for its obligations and benefits<sup>12</sup> to parties forming the contract. So when human relationships are predominantly "natural will" the society will be characterized by gemeinschaft; and gesellschaft when the "rational will" is predominant. Now Tonnies says these are ideal types set at two extremities within which all human interaction can be described. They may never be found in their pure forms, but will be found existing together.<sup>13</sup> Though as with volition, gemeinschaft is expected to be in existence first. Then as a society becomes more complex the more gesellschaft-type relations abound.

Tonnies has been misinterpreted in that his gemeinschaft-gesellschaft concepts are considered as being

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. xvi.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 21-23.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. xix, 17-21.



a dichotomy; they are not. They are constantly recurring relationships through time. It is possible though that one may predominate a period of time, or a transition period of disruption might be taking place. But what does this have to do with conservatism and authoritarianism? Personality-wise the basic values of gemeinschaft or community relationship seem to be based upon tradition, duties and obligations often based upon an ideal as the Greek's brotherly love and authority based in the family. Two major relationships here are the fellowship type and authoritative type.<sup>14</sup>

The fellowship type stresses tradition, and sentiment for people in like situations. The authoritative type is based on the father-son relationship and is to be considered as the "prototype of all gemeinschaft-like authority in which the stronger is the ward of the weaker as a duty or obligation."<sup>15</sup> These same two types can be found in gesellschaft-like relations, except when they are based upon a contract, such as employer-employee, ruler-ruled.<sup>16</sup> While gemeinschaft requires obedience and uses coercion based on traditional authority, gesellschaft uses legal authority to force one to meet the terms of a contract. With these relationships there seems to be some correspondence

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-23.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

with conservatism, stressing tradition, duties, obligations, and the authoritative father figure. Gemeinschaft or community has traditional values which are more common to a rural or agrarian society, as the South has been previously characterized. These are values of primary group contacts, emotional face to face human relationships, with the father as the sole or most important authority in the family, acceptance of authority, conformity and established routine ways of life, particularly a religious and moral way of life. Within this is the argument for the close correspondence of conservatism and authoritarianism with a "sense of community." Also important to the argument is one's ascribed role and his acceptance of it. So while the South has accepted and lived with this well integrated, coherent sense of community, it has moved through time. It has had to face the onslaught of a modern industrial society or gesellschaft type. With the growth of cities it seems inevitable the characteristics of a gesellschaft society grows with it. More rational, calculated secondary human contacts grow with it as machines and scientific administrative charts are imposed on the lives and work of men. Authority is more diffused; though conformity and established ways of life are required, religious life and

morality play a less important role,<sup>17</sup> Authoritarian trends do not seem to be reduced by the advent of gesellschaft since a more ordered society is needed to meet the duties of a contractual social relationship which in the end may not be able to depend upon tradition for enforcement, but rather force or coercion.

The appeal of Wallace's conservatism and state's rights seems to rest on the basis of community as opposed to a more rational society. The collectivity of our modern society with all its machines and secondary relationships has helped to create alienation in the form of anomie, fear, helplessness and other anxieties in people that have experienced the phenomena of community. In this sense the appeal of Wallace and his movement is not restricted entirely to the South. Urban and industrial regions of the nation may be as susceptible whether in the Northeast, South, Mideast, or Farwest. The onslaught of the Vietnam War, civil rights disturbances, riots, campus rebellions and other acts of violence suggests danger and disruption to the individual, his group, his rights to a happy and safe life and his right to own property and

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.



have it protected. It is hypothesized then, the twentieth century has moved at such a rapid pace that many Americans are not far removed from many of the values of community with its established routines and simplicity of living. It seems to be an accepted fact that our human values can not keep pace with technological progress or that a "cultural lag" exists.

The context of Wallace's appeal seems to be his straightforward solutions to problems of violence, from crime in the streets to order on college campuses, civil rights demonstrations, and solving the war in Vietnam. His conservative appeal offers the "easy" solution to the problem facing the anxious, fearful or alienated man. It is an answer which appeals to authority to use force to keep order. Wallace gives a direct answer for his solution which is often contrary to the "democratic rules of the game" he participates within, to invoke the sense of community that many seem to value. The civil rights movement strives for liberties that have traditionally been denied to many minorities. The challenge of the civil rights movement is often questioned as disrupting tradition, what Wallace might call anarchy. The so-called anarchy on college campuses, he proposes should be met harshly without a

chance for reconciliation, the old order of authority should be restored, even if it is segregated. The order and tranquility of the gemeinschaft would then be more important than change and progress toward achieving the ideal of political equality.

"Law and order" became Wallace's campaign slogan. It demonstrates a need for order through law, but American society does have laws. If these laws are no longer capable of keeping order they should be changed. The conservative may want change, none at all, or a token (slow) or regressive change. The liberal looks forward to change and hopefully a better future. What type of change American society has is then decided at the election polls.

The type of law Wallace wants seems to be a repression of civil liberties for the sake of property rights. If it is conservative and anti-libertarian it is hoped a relationship can be found between the conservatism, especially in the American Independent Party, and authoritarianism which may, in its desire for property rights, squash its own individualism.

In a democratic society the need for orderly change through dissent in which the individual's rights are balanced with the power of the state (national, state, and local) poses problems for elements of conservative

authoritarianism. Inherent in this problem is the threat to the individual and his rights. Today, collectivism seems to be a dominant theme in American society in which welfare, bureaucracy and government regulations try to serve the group, the majority. That the welfare state is with us is hardly polemical. This collectivism and "welfare statism" has occurred within the democratic "rules of the game" which stresses one important aspect of the study--private property. Private property is a part of the "rules of the game." It is a hinderance to the growth of a welfare state. In turn the welfare state is a hinderance to the individual's rights, even if it attempts to further those rights, particularly private property. This seems to be the crux of Wallace's condemnation of centralized government, the federal courts, and national mass media. If we can hold credence to the tradition of the southern cultural norms mentioned above, the source of Wallace's ideology has been delineated.

Up to now there has been several elements in this thesis. These elements seem to be highly interrelated theoretically. The appeal of Wallace as a 1968 Presidential candidate does seem to rest on conservatism, state's rights, authoritarianism and a "sense of community."



Especially in the South these elements seem to have a strong presence along with the democratic "rules of the game" and private property.

The sense of community has been talked about. It seems this sense of community supports the political thinking of conservatism. Defining conservatism is important, but also a problem. This chapter only briefly looks into conservatism. Perhaps tradition and reverence for tradition and the past; a view of human nature as bad; respect for authority; and expecting conformity best defines conservatism for now.<sup>18</sup> Here the elemental, primary group relations of community best fit in to established ways of life and the reliance on tradition. Essential also to conservatism is the private ownership of land, especially in an agricultural society where land is the source of wealth. In the South where state's rights found its first application, private property has always been important. Since state's rights also has a stake in preserving the status quo, it seems to offer conservative solutions to social and political problems.

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<sup>18</sup> James P. Young, The Politics of Affluence, Ideology in the United States since World war II, pp. 86-92.

State's rights may not be theoretically linked to authoritarianism, but it is historically linked to it in the South because of the other elements of community, private property and conservatism. The authoritarian personality as defined by Robert Lane best describes the traits that form the syndrome of the authoritarian attitude:

- desire to submit to strong leaders
- desire to dominate persons and groups seen as weaker than oneself
- tendency to seek destructive and aggressive solutions to problems as contrasted to an attitude of tolerance and compromise
- tendency to accept superstitious or supernatural explanations and to avoid scientific explanations
- tendency to see individuals as members of favorable or unfavorable types rather than as unique human beings
- cynicism regarding other people's motives (and . . . the integrity of the political process)
- tendency to project one's own motivations on others expecting others to respond as one's self does
- tendency to value conventional attitudes and behavior, and to reject deviants, stressing conformity
- tendency to avoid introspection and to externalize explanations for the events in one's life (anti-intrareception)
- tendency to see situations in terms of power and that such situations are a function of a fear of sexual impulses . . . . .<sup>19</sup>

Within these listed traits can be found some relationships with conservatism and community. Most notable are ethnocentrism, conventional values and attitudes, avoidance of

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<sup>19</sup>Robert E. Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," American Political Science Review, Vol XLIX (1955), pp. 173-190

scientific explanation and others. Much time could be spent here on the thesis and these above elements, clarification of these relationships will be dealt with later.

First means of studying the elements of the thesis must be set up. To investigate further the appeal of Wallace and the existence of conservatism, the study turns to a brief content-analysis of two major documents. These documents seem to present Wallace's ideology best. A New York Times interview with George Wallace at Dallas, Texas (September 17, 1968);<sup>20</sup> and the American Independent Platform for the presidential campaign (October 13, 1968 also of New York Times)<sup>21</sup> were the two documents used. Three major questions were kept in mind as the object of the study and content-analysis.

Is state's rights a relevant political doctrine today?

Does conservatism suppress individual liberties for property rights?

Does such a conservatism relate to authoritarianism?

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<sup>20</sup>"Wallace Interview at Dallas," New York Times, September 26, 1968.

<sup>21</sup>"Excerpts From American Independent Platform," New York Times, October 14, 1968.



It is hoped that the answering of these questions can be fulfilled by the content-analysis. But such a hope should be limited in optimism. What the study will try to do is to follow up the content-analysis by developing a questionnaire on the basis of the results and the conservative ideology. A pilot study of the popular response to Wallace's appeal on the basis of conservatism, authoritarianism, state's rights, private property and other supportive issues will follow.

## CHAPTER II

### A. CONTENT-ANALYSIS

The content-analysis of two documents relevant to Wallace's campaign will be of key symbols, significant segments or sections, and symbolic themes.<sup>22</sup> The key symbols, significant segments or sections and symbolic themes will deal with state's rights, conservative ideology, authoritarianism, and property rights. Obviously these themes will now be more specifically defined.

1. Symbol counts--concerns the identification and counting of key symbols, at the center of attention in an audience in a restricted fashion; they are obviously chosen by the writer for this attention-value and expected appeal.
2. One-dimensional classification of symbols--this is the same as above--symbol counts--but are classified as negative or positive, favorable or unfavorable. It may show security or insecurity or confidence in one's propaganda.
3. Item-analysis--is the classification of segments of sections of a propaganda piece. It is the selection of significant or insignificant items for attention value. That is to select items that appeal to central or peripheral interests of an audience.
4. Thematic-analysis-- is the dealing with cumulative effects of a series of items that are classified as explicit or implicit symbolic themes in a document.

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<sup>22</sup> Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 512-516.

A final method of analysis can be used to demonstrate integration of the previous methods.<sup>23</sup> This is structural analysis that seeks to discern if several themes in one document are complementary, integrating or interfering. Do these themes basically agree with each other or do they work at cross-purposes.

A content-analysis could be very complicated and involved. This content-analysis will be descriptive and as simple as possible.

#### B. DESCRIPTION OF CONTENT-ANALYSIS

The content-analysis of the Wallace interview and American Party Platform should focus on the three questions that were posed above and the symbols, items and themes related to them. The contents of the two documents will be grouped under the four topics: state's rights, conservative ideology, property rights, and authoritarianism. The topic of property rights will be significant in the other three topics and may or may not be analyzed separately or in conjunction with the other topics.

As with any presidential campaign year, issues, due to argumentation and group appeal, seem to be muddled. Though the issues often seem clear when presented from

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

one viewpoint, they are also often closed minded or partial in opinion--ideological in character. That is why it would do well to view the issues as they are presented in a favorable way to Wallace. The following issues are from a comparison of polity stands between the three major presidential candidates--Wallace, Nixon, Humphrey;<sup>24</sup>

On domestic issues:

Crime	Open Housing
Anarchy and Riots	Private Property Rights
School Control and Bussing	Free Enterprise
Courts (federal courts)	Welfare State
Domestic Communist Subversion	Gun Control
Job Security	National Defense
Racism	
Centralized Government and Elite Rule	

On foreign issues:

Vietnam	Trade with Communists
Nuclear Weapons	Communist World Domination
The U.N.	Foreign Aid

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<sup>24</sup>"Where the Candidates Stand--the Issues at a Glance," Statecraft, A Journal of Political Education, Election Issue. October, 1968, pp. 6-8.



Since this analysis is concerned mainly with George Wallace's appeal, a classification can be made of these issues above to the four topics: state's rights, conservatism, property rights, and authoritarianism--from Wallace's viewpoint. But first a description of Wallace's views:

Wallace's Policy Stands from Statecraft<sup>25</sup>

Crime: "Strongly supports law and order; stands behind the police."

Anarchy and Riots: "Will crush riots with a swift blow."

School Control and Bussing: "Supports control; against forced bussing."

Open Housing: "Strongly opposes forced housing."

Private Property Rights: "Staunch Defender" of.

Free Enterprise: "Firmly supports: . . . is the best way to create social progress."

Job Security: "Supports:" opposes federal regulation of job market.

Racism: "Not a racist; opposes black racism" . . . strongly opposes "black extremists."

Courts: "Opposes Supreme Court dictatorship."

Welfare State: "Opposes welfare cheaters . . . and Federal encroachment in state's welfare programs: wants states to be free to handle as they want to."

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

Domestic Communist Subversion: "Opposes Communists in government:" will remove them from high security jobs and public schools.

Gun Control: "Opposes" strongly.

Centralized Government: "Strongly opposes: Realizes . . . liberal programs are totalitarian and utopian designed by an isolated few rather than the people."

Vietnam: "Will get U.S. out if victory impossible. Favors negotiations but will not sell out our fighting men."

National Defense: "Will strengthen;" opposes wartime control of military by "no-win" civilians. Opposes disarmament.

Trade with Communists: "Against:" only supporting Communists.

Nuclear Weapons: "Supports strong defense." Opposes disarmament.

Communist World Domination: "Firm and determined opposition."

Foreign Aid: "Wants cutback."

The U.N.: "Opposes U.N. sovereignty over U.S."

This list of issues provides a good guide for the analysis of the Dallas interview and the American Independent Platform. But all are not relevant to the four topics--state's rights, conservatism, property rights, and authoritarianism. So the ones relevant to the three questions that were posed above will be selected, mainly on domestic issues.

Is state's rights a relevant political doctrine?  
Issues, symbols, themes, etc.

Centralized Government and Elite Rule

Courts

School Control and Bussing

Open Housing

Gun Control

Welfare State

Free Enterprise

Private Property Rights

Job Security

Racism

Does the conservatism of the American Party suppress individual liberties for property rights?  
Issues, symbols, themes, etc.

Private Property rights

Free Enterprise

Crime

Anarchy and riots

Racism

Centralized Government  
and Elite Rule

National Defense

Vietnam

Domestic Communist Sub-  
version

Foreign Aid

Does the conservatism of the American Party relate to authoritarianism?

Issues, symbols, themes, etc. (similar to the previous question)

Private Property Rights

Crime

Anarchy and Riots

Racism.

Centralized Government and  
Elite Rule

National Defense

Vietnam

Domestic Communist  
Subversion

Nuclear Weapons

Foreign Aid

These issues can be converted into themes that utilize items or segments that similarly correspond to Wallace's policy stands:

Local Government(+)

The Federal Judiciary(-)

Private Property(+)

Crime and Disorder(-)

Cities and Suburbs(-)

Job Opportunity(+)

Our Senior Citizens(+)

Health Care(+)

National Economy(-+)

Foreign Policy(-+)

Vietnam(-+)

National Defense(-+)



These items or segments of the platform can be seen to have symbols for attention value. Beside the symbol is a (+) or (-) or (-+); this attempts to show the positive or negative appeal upon which Wallace plans his speech. If it is positive the item and symbol is attacked, usually as contrary to the "American way of life." When both (-+) appear, Wallace has something to say on both sides of the issue, usually attacking the present administration and telling how he would remedy the problem of the issue.

It is important to note that Wallace bases his appeal on more or less well known facts as riots, crime, city problems, the Supreme Court, health care and so on. These appear in the news very often. In viewing all campaign literature as propaganda, the propaganda of fact has an important point that should be made. Facts, "concrete incidents . . . serve as a . . . model which helps orient people to a part of the world . . . they live in."<sup>26</sup> The fact speaks, instead of opinion. Usually people shun personal opinions because there are so many that are conflicting and confusing or that they resent. The facts, as Wallace presents them in the issues, appeal or get attention because people see them in their everyday life or read or listen to them over radio and television.

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<sup>26</sup> Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, op.cit. pp. 524-528.



They are at the center of attention and help to orient the person to a general explanation of events--Wallace's explanation. They are often startling facts that, in effect, get attention (attention-value); are readily diffused in everyday conversation and experiences (diffusion-value); and helps instill confidence in the people that Wallace appeals to (confidence-value). Thus in using this type of propaganda with a mixture of his own opinions also based in facts (e.g. the Supreme Court is a dictatorship; it has taken control of our schools through federal guidelines), Wallace hopes to guide the voter to vote for him (guidance-value).<sup>27</sup>

So the use of facts and factual events are expressed in the symbols favorably and unfavorably, and in the items as significant for attention-value as well as the other values of the propaganda of fact. The symbols and items are significant and also find considerable support in the voting population, especially in the South. Before defending the use of a cross-section of Wallace's followers, especially in the South, it would do well to look at the dominant themes of the items and symbols within the items and themes

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

found in the "American Party Platform" and the "Wallace Interview at Dallas." The reason that a more extensive look at the interview will not be taken is because it is so similar to and uses quite the same language as the party platform.

## CHAPTER III

### STATE RIGHTS

In looking at dominant themes in the issues, symbols and items, one sees the particular theme of state's rights expressed in the items of Local Government, the Federal Judiciary, Private Property, Cities and Suburbs, and the National Economy. The main issue here is centralized government and so-called elite rule. Under Local Government (+), Wallace wants to return federal powers to the state and local levels of government, away from the "privileged" ruling class. In doing so he stresses such symbols as school control and bussing and forced state reapportionment by the Supreme Court. The Federal Court (-) especially is an area of criticism because of its decisions in school desegregation, civil rights and so on. The symbols of gun control, open-housing and the welfare state are further expansions of federal power over the states. The attempt to use federal money in the cities, to renew or rebuild, is criticized and Wallace offers a plan for better federal, state and local cooperation, especially with private industry through a program of industrial diversification and decentralization.

A secondary theme to state's rights might be viewed as preserving democratic traditions against a growing collectivism found in the welfare state. In this sense private

property rights (+) is a powerful weapon Wallace can utilize against his opposition which leans further to the political left than he does. In the "Dallas interview" Wallace stated, "The man who goes out and works 25 years for a home, works everyday and then his home is burned down, he is mad!"

Here Wallace does appeal to lower and middle class working peoples who have had to work hard for their home or piece of property. Wallace also defends free enterprise. In fact free enterprise becomes part of a larger argument against federal regulation of the national economy in which free competition should be restored. Giant corporations would be forced to share a larger part of the tax burden.

These themes and issues are only briefly discussed, but the discussion does show the problem of defending a state's rights position. Politically it is difficult and suggests state's rights may no longer be relevant as a political doctrine. Especially today with the need for a large and secure national power, state's rights finds itself in contradictory positions. For instance any presidential candidate must appeal to all groups who look for financial security. And even Wallace proposed more extended aid to the senior citizen and the enlargement of health care facilities under Medicare. Traditionally state's rights was a constitutional device for



protecting vested property interests, mainly agrarian vs. industrial.<sup>28</sup> But since the Civil War the concept of state's rights became apolitical, and was used to encourage inaction in both state and federal government during the Era of Robber Barons and laissez-faire, stripping it of whatever "liberal or humanitarian elements" it had.<sup>29</sup> It became a doctrine to protect vested interests in private property and legal contracts based on self-interest, hardly any theory.

Even in political theory, the state's rights doctrine has always been inconsistent so whenever either political party is out of power they have invoked state's rights. Today especially the inconsistency shows when Southern Congressional representatives talk about state sovereignty but "go to the federal treasury with outstretched and eager hands."<sup>30</sup> Robert J. Harris in his article presents data on federal grants to states, showing a dependence of the state on the grant. Surely the federal government is not "an enemy of the states." "A technological and

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<sup>28</sup> Robert J. Harris, "State's Rights and Vested Interests," Journal of Politics, XV(November, 1963), pp. 457-59.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 460-61.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 470.

industrial order characterized" by the need for a "considerable amount of unity . . . a wide range of political and economic powers, should not be determined or influenced by outworn shibboleths which were popular in some quarters a century ago."<sup>31</sup>

Today, modern society with all its industry and technology and interdependence; a federal union of states; and a growing welfare state, state's rights is more a catch phrase than a plan of action. Its proponents only give voice to it as it suits their interests. Though some southern politicians have honestly used it by virtue of possessing values of community and conservatism. So is state's rights relevant today? It would seem it is not. Today a state's rights doctrine has no basis for political authority, except when construed from the delegated and reserved powers clause of the Constitution. Thus ultimate political authority rests with the Federal Government not the states. But giving voice to state's rights does have a purpose. Traditionally the doctrine has been "an institutional device for better preserving the rights of a people of a state,"<sup>32</sup> even though the state no longer has any final power over the

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 471.

<sup>32</sup> Alan Fendleton Grimes, American Political Thought, 1967, pp. 267.

federal union. Obviously it can still be a "battlecry" to help preserve individual liberties by using public opinion. Wallace's appeal to the American voter may be just that.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ELEMENTS OF CONSERVATISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM

The next major theme that is to be looked at is that of conservative ideology and authoritarianism. The reason that both themes are treated together is because of their similarity in the use of political issues. Also, as research points out as in Rokeach et. al., The Open and Closed Mind, and Adorno et. al., The Authoritarian Personality, both themes--conservatism and authoritarianism are fairly well integrated on issues of legitimate authority intolerance, and organization of attitudes and beliefs.<sup>33</sup> These three factors may also tie in with an anti-libertarianism attitude and personality. The themes of conservatism and authoritarianism must now be looked at separately and then see how they are integrated not only with each other, but hopefully with the content-analysis.

The first task is the delineation of the conservative ideology. For this there are many classifications which are even contradictory, but one must choose, even though arbitrarily. Perhaps the best classification of the conservative ideology is McClosky's:

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<sup>33</sup>Especially Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind, passim.



1. Man is a creature of appetite and will, "governed more by emotion than by reason"(Kirk) in whom "wickedness, unreason, and the urge to violence lurked always behind the curtain of civilized behavior"(Rossiter). He is a fallen creature, doomed to imperfection, and inclined to license and anarchy.
2. "Society is ruled by divine intent"(Kirk) and made legitimate by Providence and perscription. Religion "is the foundation of civil society" (Huntington) and is man's ultimate defense against his own evil impulses.
3. Society is organic, plural, inordinately complex, the product of a long and painful evolution, embodying the accumulated wisdom of previous historical ages. There is a presumption in favor of whatever has survived the ordeal of history, and of any institution that has been tried and found to work.
4. Man's traditional inheritance is rich, grand, endlessly proliferated and mysteriously deserving of veneration and not to be cast away lightly in favor of the narrow uniformity preached by sophisters and calculators" (Burke). Theory is to be distrusted since reason, which gives rise to theory, is a deceptive, shallow and limited instrument.
5. Change must therefore be resisted and the injunction heeded that "unless it is necessary to change it is necessary not to change"(Hearnshaw). Innovation "is a devouring conflagration more often than it is a torch of progress."(Kirk)
6. Men are naturally unequal and society requires "orders and classes" for the good of all. All efforts at leveling are futile and lead to despair (Kirk and Rossiter) for they violate the natural hierarchy and frustrate man's "longing for leadership." The superior classes must be allowed to differentiate themselves and to have a hand in the direction of the state, balancing the numerical superiority of the inferior classes.

7. Order, authority, and community are the primary defense against the impulse to violence and anarchy. The superiority of duties over rights and the need to strengthen the stabilizing of institutions of society, especially the church, the family, and above all, private property.<sup>34</sup>

This classification of the conservative ideology is by no means the one completely agreed upon. It has the traditional character of Burke when he opposed the coming tide of liberalism in England and is not completely revelant to present American conservatism. But this classification points out that conservatism is a temperamental as well as political and economic doctrine or philosophy.<sup>35</sup> As a temperament it is based on a view of the "nature of man" and history. Man is not to be trusted, he supposedly was born into original sin and must be redeemed. And history has many lessons which man can learn from; from which he is given a continuity of institutions, customs, and hierarchies he should preserve or "conserve." So if man followed the traditions of the past he would satisfy his state of mind.

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<sup>34</sup>Herbert McClosky, "Conservatism and Personality," American Political Science Review, Vol. 53 (March, 1958) pp. 27-45. Also in Polsby, Dentler, and Smith, Politics and Social Life, pp. 218-231.

<sup>35</sup>Peter Viereck, Conservatism, From John Adams to Churchill, p. 15.

Peter Viereck points out that conservatism can be seen as valuing a historical framework of continuity in government, society, in all forms of life. He discerns three frameworks--the inarticulate, religious and cultural.<sup>36</sup> The inarticulate aspect of conservatism is perceived as non-ideological and simply a "state of mind." The religious aspect of conservatism is readily seen in the seven tenets above. Usually conservatism is closely allied to religious institutions or any type of institution for purposes of "conserving" a power structure as the Catholic Church or state governments in the United States. Culturally, conservatism is seen a temperament of art and criticism of the "quality" of life. Such art often is criticism of the "quality" of life as produced by liberal thought, instrumental government policy, or material progress. Liberalism is often thought of as a mechanical or instrumental theory of politics, economics and life. This is opposed to the organicism of conservatism and community. As Viereck says "cultural conservatism is a spiritual arithmetic; it calculates the price paid for progress."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-17.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 17.



From all this definition one finds that conservatism is only more difficult to define especially in a democracy. It seems conservatism is defined in two basic ways.<sup>38</sup> First it strives to "conserve" historical continuity or tradition, preventing rapid change and disorder. This is more in the sense of Burkean conservatism and community. A second way of defining conservatism is that it strives to "conserve" the status quo whatever it is. Thus the conservative has one of two alternatives. To claim a set of values in theory or strive to preserve the present status quo. The desire of mixing both should not be left out, but not without the caution of contradictions. As a set of values the previous seven tenets of conservatism can be reduced to--

1. The nature of man is evil and imperfect (misanthropy).
2. God and religion are paramount to good government.
3. Society is organic and whatever exists is the best to have survived, making the past judge of the present.
4. Tradition should be revered, theory should be distrusted as a shallow and limited instrument.
5. Change should be slow if one is to have any at all; progress should be a slow organic growth.
6. A natural aristocracy exists, because men are unequal; only a few are fit for leadership.

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-12.



7. Duties are superior over rights and should be preserved by order, authority and community and their necessary institutions, especially private property.

Conservatism may not fit either of the two above alternatives and more likely is to be found as a mixture of both. That mixture may be of liberal thought as well.

As Robert Lane says about the "Eastport common man":

. . . if he is a conservative, it is in a special sense. He is not opposed to change, does not take a dim view of human nature (for the most part), has no love of tradition and, although not equalitarian, does not stand for a social hierarchy either.<sup>39</sup>

The "Eastport common man" is a conservative because he is "loyal to the prevailing system of government, believes in private property and capitalism . . . and has no program for structural changes in society." He also believes he should live a good moral life and be happy with his "rewards and punishments" and be responsible "for his own fate."<sup>40</sup>

Peter Viereck tried to define American conservatism in another way; "What justifies the western union and gives it moral cohesion is the common desire to conserve a common heritage: our free institutions."<sup>41</sup> These institutions of course are democracy and capitalism.

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<sup>39</sup>Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology, pp. 250-51.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Grimes, American Political Thought, loc. cit., p. 482.

The problem of defining conservatism on this basis is that "much that proved to be part of modern conservatism was this liberalism of the recent past."<sup>42</sup> Politicians often shun calling themselves conservatives because they fear they will be "associated with the preservation of the economic privileges of the few than with the larger . . . problem of conserving 'the humane and ethical values of the West'."<sup>43</sup> Even the radical right as the John Birch Society and Liberty Lobby can be seen as wanting to conserve the 18th and 19th century liberal, rational ideas on democracy and capitalism, especially private property. Thus it seems community with its traditional way of life, with prescribed duties and rights to preserve order is the center of conservatism. So if the traditions and institutions sought to be preserved are liberal there will probably be contradictions. One special contradiction should be pointed out: the concept of community with traditional authority is not compatible with the liberal concept of capitalistic democracy in theory. Community as Lane points out is similar to Tonnies' Gemeinschaft.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Lane, Political Ideology, pp. 222-226.

Basically six elements of community can be discerned:

1. Primary face to face human relationships with each person having a clear conception of his role in society e.g. father-son, ruler-ruled.
2. A man is given dignity and worth for the role that is ascribed to him; community is not an achieving society.
3. Duties are more important than rights and one's role clearly requires certain duties of him.
4. Community clearly instills a localism and "rootedness" to one's home, mobility is restricted physically and socially.
5. The people of the community have a common value system, culture is homogenous so there is no role conflict.
6. Order and authority are internalized in the clear cut norms, values, and mores of church and family.

Freedom in the community is seen as being a member of the in-group, free from care or worry because one knows he will be taken care of by the group. This is freedom in the "totalitarian" sense. Freedom in the democratic sense would not exist easily in the community.

Democracy needs a society of the gesellschaft type where men are free to break personal relationships and form new ones. It is more impersonal and rational so men can move about to do as they please. As Lane argues". . . it is the very absence of community that makes democracy possible."<sup>45</sup> Community and democracy may work together

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 226-227



in the city-state or a village where there is a closeness and agreement among the people. This seems to have been the situation in the South, at least in the first half of the twentieth century.

But what kind of conservatism is to be found in George Wallace's policy stands? George Wallace himself said he was offering a conservative alternative to the people in the 1968 presidential campaign. The conservatism Wallace exhibits is much like the "Eastport common man" except he says he has a plan for change. This change is of recent governmental policies on such issues as welfare, job opportunities, open housing, gun control, and school desegregation. The change is in a direction from centralized federal control to decentralized state and local control. In other words Wallace wants a return to more traditional ways which are based on democracy, the free enterprise system, private property, and law and order. This is basically the position of the state's rights doctrine. But it deviates and is contradictory not only to state's rights, but also to conservatism. Wallace attacks centralized government or any centralized area of national life on the basis that it is contrary to the American way of life. It seems to be that power is a corrupting influence on the men who rule. Not only do the rulers seem to be corrupt, but also the society shows a decline in



morality as seen by crime and the occurrence of riots and other disorders. It should be noted that this reaction to corruption seems to come from the rapid change of an industrial and technologically complex society. The complexity of modern society has torn into the community and its democratic institutions as free enterprise and competition. In this, private property is an integral part of the free society and capitalism. To endanger it by the growth of the welfare state and socialism is to be considered a grave mistake. Especially with crime and disorder in the cities and on campuses, Wallace appeals to the working and middle classes who see their property or homes endangered by riots and crime. The right to own property should be protected not only from socialism, but also anarchy; the right to property seems to be exceeded only by the duty to self-restraint to enjoy civil liberties of speech, writing, and dissent. Thus when dissent becomes disorderly or anarchical, it endangers other's rights, and should be suppressed. The difficulty of suppressing a minority that dissents and is disorderly is that of protecting the majority's rights (as life, liberty, property, and happiness) by suppressing the same rights the minority tries to use. As Wallace claims, he would be militant in enforcing the law against riots,

crime in the streets and on college campuses, The question must be raised--are those laws that would be strictly enforced democratic or fair to the minorities that protest or dissent against them to change them? If so, is their enforcement not replacing the authority of an elite with that of a majority or as Alexis de Tocqueville put it a "tyranny of the majority?" Perhaps this is a misuse of an American conservative trend, that is the protection of self-interests, particularly private property and in the South white schools. The concept of community or, self-interest can no longer continue to hold sway in a modern, industrial, and technological society where interdependence and coordination of economic, and political life should control part, even just a small part of national life to achieve equality, political and social. Community ties must be muted but not destroyed for the primary group as a basic human institution can not be destroyed. The defense of community and self-interest puts Wallace in a position hard to defend based on democratic institutions as they are found in America today. For subjection to the community often means subjection to traditional authority. To oppose centralized aspects of national life it seems Wallace does not recognize that in his opposition (which is well organized) his organization must be highly centralized, especially to oppose the entrenched American two party system.

One can begin to see a strain of authoritarianism in personality traits both in Wallace and the people he appeals to. The main trait is that of legitimate authority. Does a person accept or reject authority? Closely related to authority is intolerance. Is a person tolerant or intolerant to people who wield authority and those who subject or oppose themselves to it? Ideas and their relation to authority and people are an important aspect to authoritarianism as found in one's belief system. This is all part of a framework developed by Rokeach to analyze and study the open and closed mind in which authoritarianism and intolerance were central.<sup>46</sup> His purpose was to study further the trend of anti-democratic thinking analyzed in the California Study of authoritarianism.<sup>47</sup>

Rokeach's findings were the result of an attempt to define general authoritarianism and general intolerance since the California study had focused on right authoritarianism and intolerance found in fascist ideology and

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<sup>46</sup>Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind, pp. 8-15.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-16.

anti-semitism.<sup>48</sup> Rokeach, in looking for an authoritarian of the political left as well as right and center, found a distinction between open and closed belief systems which can be applied to Wallace.

In structure Wallace's belief system is to be viewed as somewhat closed. There is good reason to believe "dogmatic" and "intolerant" are somewhat related if not synonymous to "closed." Three basic dimensions of a belief system are discernable. The belief-disbelief dimension, the central-peripheral dimension, and the time-perspective dimension.<sup>49</sup>

The belief-disbelief dimension is important to the understanding not only of authoritarianism, but also conservatism. It is important because one's belief system (an organization of beliefs and ideas a person accepts as true of the world) is often in contradiction with its disbeliefs (all beliefs a person rejects as true of the world). As has already been pointed out, the contradictions of conservatism today are unavoidable.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., pp. 35-64.



Recognition of them points out the willingness to accept them as contradictory. For instance conservatism seeks to preserve traditional institutions, that in fact they are liberal inventions as capitalism and representative democracy that promote change instrumentally and not organically or slow. Anyone who is committed to helping the aged financially through welfare and Medicare as Wallace is, finds he is promoting the welfare state. Quite the opposite position of being a defender of private property. This becomes an obvious part of the closed mind which dogmatically chooses its beliefs as they fit tradition. Disbeliefs, even if they are similar, are isolated or minimized; if different they will be accentuated. That is centralized government and elite rule is contrary to democratic institutions but defending the community which fosters traditional authority (elite rule) is in opposition to democratic institutions. Private property rights are part of the package of American civil rights. What Wallace does not seem to point out is that the right to dissent in minorities is the same as the majority's rights, especially to private property.

Thus the belief sub-system is well mapped out, Wallace's rights and duties, and democratic institutions are well defined as state and local control of schools,

gun control, private property, free enterprise, and so on. But the disbelief system has little differentiation within itself, in fact the belief system is not well differentiated on issues and beliefs because both choose their beliefs dogmatically. These are the primary qualities of the structure of the closed mind--dogmatic and intolerant of discrepancies in beliefs and disbeliefs. The open mind would be more tolerant and less dogmatic recognizing differences and similarities for what they are and accept them instead of using strong language to deny their existence and condemn them.

The next dimension in the analysis of the closed mind is the central-peripheral dimension. It has three regions which concern themselves with the way beliefs are organized to cope with the world. The first is the central region which organizes "primitive beliefs." "Primitive beliefs" are cognitive phenomenon that a person perceives of the world around him. They are unspoken or tacit values about reality; beliefs which perceive reality as friendly or threatening to the individual; and beliefs of the self--self-identity. These are basic values which any people develop in relation to their environment, as the nature of man, the state of nature, time orientation and so on. But the basic value of the central region

in the closed mind is that the world is perceived as threatening to one's self.<sup>50</sup> Only a short word needs to be said about Wallace's constant attack on centralized government, the Supreme Court and national news media. All three are supposedly endangering the democratic institutions and the rights of the American people. One can see that such basic values as found in the conservative ideology are at the bottom of Wallace's perception of threat.

This leads to the second region--the intermediate region--where the closed mind dogmatically solves the threatening situation by appealing to an absolute authority.<sup>51</sup> To Wallace the absolute authority is the Constitution and the laws now in effect, before the Supreme Court and socialists "tampered" with them. Unfortunately the authoritarian is well displayed by this dogmatic appeal to law and intolerance to people who disagree with or dissent against the laws even if there is doubt as to their legitimacy. Again the conservative is seen in his self-interest to protect property or his own rights.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 40-42.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.



Wallace's appeal then can be seen to attract those who are in the majority and have something to lose if laws are discarded even if the laws are unjust. The working man who has worked hard all his life is prone to Wallace's appeal, especially if he owns a piece of property. Thus when college students and racists create disorder and endanger other people's rights, the appeal is all the more great. Involved in this appeal to authority is the concept of ethnocentrism which uses the in-group and out-group.<sup>52</sup> This is a type of scape-goat, as the Nazi's blamed the Jews for the woes of German society. Wallace uses the same concept to convince people to support "law and order" and smack down the "anarchists," throw out the Communists or stop creeping socialism in the federal government. But Wallace's appeal is not as extreme as the Nazi's. He appeals to the common man who has been alienated from the upper levels of government and the "community." The in-group is composed of those who agree with Wallace; the out-group becomes in fact anyone or group that opposes Wallace's platform.

The third region is the peripheral region. Peripheral beliefs are specific in their content, while intermediate beliefs are more formal and general in

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<sup>52</sup>  
Ibid., pp. 9,12.



content about authority. Peripheral beliefs emanate from specific "primitive beliefs" and formal authority beliefs.<sup>53</sup> The content of the American Party platform is basically peripheral beliefs. The obvious contradictions already pointed out, depending on authority especially, show that the psychological make-up of such beliefs are not logical. It is often irrational or nonrational. What this results from is the incorporation of beliefs that are favorable to the person. Wallace obviously chose them to fit his own psychological make-up or chose them to appeal to the voting public (which one is a question of speculation). Disbeliefs are also isolated from beliefs in the closed mind by the same irrational processes of satisfying needs, eliminating threat to self, or enhancing the self. Thus contradictions or discrepancies in belief and disbelief systems and between these systems may seem logical to the closed mind and be the source of appeal to Wallace's following.

One can see the interrelationship of the closed mind with the authoritarian personality syndrome, especially the--

- desire to submit to strong leaders as Wallace .
- desire to dominate persons and groups seen as weaker to oneself.

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 47-51, 55-56.

tendency to see individuals as members of favorable or unfavorable types rather than as unique human beings.

cynicism regarding other people's motives and the political process.

tendency to value conventional attitudes and behavior and to reject deviants.

tendency to avoid introspection and to externalize explanations for events in one's life (anti-intrareception).

tendency to see situations in terms of power.<sup>54</sup>

In turn the relationship of conservatism should be stressed, as acceptance of traditional authority, support of a social hierarchy, ethnocentrism, cynicism as to the nature of man and conformity to conventional values.

Before looking at the source of Wallace's appeal in the voting public and possible tests to validate it, one final variable related to authoritarianism should be mentioned. This is the time-perspective which deals with the basic value of time and beliefs about the past, present, or future. To the open mind beliefs about time are, relatively broad, seeing relevance in past history to present policies, and the importance of the present on the course of the future. The closed mind is narrow in its view of time. Thus one may be oriented singly to past, present, or future.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," loc. cit.

<sup>55</sup>Rokeach, op. cit., pp. 51-52, 56.

Wallace's emphasis seems to be on the past. But there does seem to be some orientation to the future. The present is a time of danger to democratic institutions founded in the past, and the future seems to be a time of redeeming the present by restoring the past. The present is bridged since it is unfavorable or threatening. The future can be made rewarding by a "conservative" program.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE AND VOTER SAMPLE

A case can be made for finding authoritarianism in the issues of the American Party as described above on the attitudes about authority, dogmatism, intolerance, and ethnocentrism. This parallels much of the California study (The Authoritarian Personality). Much of it is speculation but should be viewed as groundwork for a field survey. It is proposed a medium sample of between 150-200 southern voters will be given questionnaires mainly based on Likert scaling. The tests in the questionnaire will be described later. First one should look at the relevance of using a sample of southern voters.

A Gallup Poll that appeared October 13, 1968 gave a "Profile of the Wallace Vote" of three national surveys conducted in September, 1968. The poll shows Wallace's major support coming from the "Deep South," then the "Border States": Numbers are percent of sample (3,513 registered voters).<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> "Profile of the Wallace Vote," The Charlotte Observer, October 13, 1968, p. 16A.



Table 1                      Profile of the Wallace Vote

	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Deep South</u>	52%	20%	20%	8%	100%
<u>Border States</u>	33%	37%	24%	6%	100%
<u>Outside South</u>	14%	47%	31%	8%	100%

Wallace seems to appeal mainly to blue collar workers (manual workers, both skilled and unskilled) more than white collar workers. But some white collar workers add support mainly in business, clerical work, or sales, and also farmers. Wallace is more popular with men than women even in the South. And the age groups in the twenties outside the South find him appealing. In the South age groups are found not to vary in their support, all are fairly high.<sup>57</sup> Since the South gave strong support to Wallace in the 1968 Presidential election, one can see further the use of a southern population in a survey.

To test for the relevance of attitudes toward state's rights, conservatism and authoritarianism various personality scales can be utilized to measure them. Rokeach in The Open and Closed Mind and the California study (The Authoritarian Personality, Adorno) have inventories of questionnaire scales concerning conservatism and the authoritarian

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

personality. Robert A. Schoenberger in his study "Conservatism, Personality and Political Extremism" provides further inventories on the issue of state's rights as well as conservatism, authoritarianism, and anti-libertarian attitudes.<sup>58</sup>

The following scales will be used to test the various attitudes mentioned above.

- A. Attitudes Toward Federal, Social and Economic Roles<sup>59</sup>
- B. Attitudes Toward Governmental, Social and Economic Roles<sup>60</sup>
- C. Attitudes Toward Civil Liberties<sup>61</sup>
- D. The Ethnocentrism Scale  
Part B. Negro Subscale (6)  
Part C. Other Minorities and Patriotism<sup>62</sup>
- E. Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale (Form 60) (14)<sup>63</sup>
- F. The Misanthropy Scales<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Robert A. Schoenberger, "Conservatism, Personality and Political Extremism," American Political Science Review (September, 1968), pp. 869-877.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 875.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 872.

<sup>62</sup>Adorno, et. al., The Authoritarian Personality, pp. 141-142.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 163-168.

<sup>64</sup>Schoenberger, loc. cit.

G. Questions on political issues from V.O. Key's  
Public Opinion and American Democracy<sup>65</sup>

(All scales and final form of questionnaire is listed in Appendix)

Theoretically the hypothesis of a conservative trend in American political thinking could be refuted on the basis of explaining the present welfare state we have. So what did an empirical survey show as to the social-psychological characteristic of southern American voters?

A public opinion survey was conducted in a medium sized southern city. The city is located in the Piedmont area of North Carolina. A questionnaire incorporating scales to measure the predispositions and attitudes of conservatism, authoritarianism, civil libertarianism, misanthropy, and ethnocentrism was used. These scales were taken from relevant literature on the subject and have formerly yielded relevant data. Also included in the questionnaire were questions on U.S. foreign and domestic issues important to the 1968 presidential election.

The city chosen will be called "Piedmont" for purposes of anonymity and convenience. "Piedmont" has a population of approximately 24,000; with its contiguous

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<sup>65</sup>V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, pp. 157-172.

area it has a population of about 45,000 people. Approximately 400 industrial firms are located within the city and its contiguous area. The main industries are furniture, hosiery, and textile manufacturing. Important growing industries are in electronics and electrical manufacturing. A good cross-section of social class exists with a large middle class work force of mill and factory workers, technicians, and managers.

The sample was taken on an experimental basis. A systematic random sample was taken of registered voters. Out of twenty voting wards three were chosen that showed a strong vote for each of the three candidates in the 1968 election. Nixon and Humphrey carried a ward overwhelmingly, Wallace showed only a strong second with as much as 29% of the vote for that particular ward. At the outset 278 registered voters were selected (10% of each ward). The procedure of distributing the questionnaire was to deliver a questionnaire to each voter selected and to return in three days to pick it up. A mailed questionnaire was not feasible and did not show much promise for a large return as well as its cost. The return was only as good as the distribution. Only about 150 were distributed due to time, cost and help. A return of 107 was made. The three wards



were chosen on the basis of election returns and interviews with the three party chairmen--Republican, Democrat, and American Independent--who had familiarity with the community. The wards showed strong support for one of the three presidential candidates--Nixon, Humphrey, and Wallace. Also race and socioeconomic status on the basis of income and occupation was well represented. One ward was predominantly Negro, the other two predominantly white. In the two predominantly white wards socioeconomic status differed. One was dominantly middle and upper-middle class, the other was dominantly lower-middle class. The Negro was dominantly lower-middle and middle class. It is interesting to note that all three wards were dominantly registered as Democratic.

Table 2Party Affiliation of Sample

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>Independent</u>
1	74	4	0	1
2	54	33	0	9
3	<u>56</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	184	77	1	14

Total registration for the three wards showed 68% as Democrats (1,894); 27% as Republicans (751); 4.6% as Independents (130); and .4% as American Independent(6).

It is even more interesting to note that the final 1968 Presidential vote for the same three wards is as follows in the next table.

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Table 3                      1968 Presidential Vote

48% for Nixon-Agnew (1,114)  
 36% for Humphrey-Muskie (832)  
 16% for Wallace-Griffin (362)

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Obvious crossover votes are involved. The percentage of vote would have been higher for Nixon if it were not for the overwhelming Negro Democratic vote. This would be expected as well as expecting a strong Negro predisposition to liberalism. Of the 107 voters surveyed between June-July, 1969 the following characteristics--politically and socio-economically--can be pointed out.

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Table 4                      Race

68% are White                      32% are Negro

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Party Affiliation and Race

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>No Party</u>
<u>White</u>	29	26	1	8	3
<u>Negro</u>	31	0	0	1	0
<u>No Response:</u>	6 White, 2 Negro				

Table 5 Socioeconomic Status, Occupation and Income

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Income</u>					<u>No Response</u>
	<u>\$10,000 over</u>	<u>\$7,500- 9,999</u>	<u>\$4,000- 7,499</u>	<u>\$2,000- 3,999</u>	<u>\$2,000 under</u>	
<u>Professional</u>	8	1	3	5 <sup>a</sup>	--	--
<u>Managerial</u>	6	4	4	--	--	--
<u>Clerical--skilled</u>	3	3	11	9	1	--
<u>Semi-skilled</u>	--	--	3	7	1	2
<u>Unskilled + unemployed</u>	--	--	1	1	6	6
<u>No response</u>	--	--	3	4	1	5

<sup>a</sup>These 5 professional seem to be an attempt by the respondent to ascribe a higher status than he actually has, but some professionals as school teachers or librarians may not pay a commensurate salary.

Table 6 Education and Income

<u>Education</u>	<u>Income</u>					<u>No Response</u>
	<u>\$10,000 over</u>	<u>\$7,500- 9,999</u>	<u>\$4,000- 7,499</u>	<u>\$2,000- 3,999</u>	<u>\$2,000 under</u>	
<u>Grade School*</u>	2	1	7	5	1	4
<u>High School*</u>	5	5	17	19	4	5
<u>College*</u>	11	7	6	--	3	2
<u>No Response</u>	--	--	--	1	1	2

\*At least some schooling or graduation

Table 7

Age and Sex

<u>Age</u>		<u>Sex</u>	
21-35 (34)		Male	53
36-55 (55)		Female	54
56-65 (18)			

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With this socioeconomic and political data in mind the study can now move on to test the thesis on the basis of the results of the Public Opinion Questionnaire.

The final number of questions in the questionnaire is 76. Part of the Ethnocentrism Scale and the two scales dealing with attitudes toward federal and general government social and economic roles were eliminated in order to put results of the questionnaire data on one 80 column computer card. Attitudes to governmental social and economic roles were partly answered because of poor directions and were not set up for cross tabulation; their results would not have been relevant due to the small sample.

This thesis is largely speculative, supported by a small survey and limited data. It did accomplish what a pilot study should which is to give direction for further research and also provide some relevant data. The data can be used to rework many questions and attitudinal scales to be used on a larger sample.



## CHAPTER VI

### QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

The use of personality and political attitude scales must be done cautiously. An attitude scale always has faults as well as virtues. Creating these scales bring many methodological problems (mainly that what one is measuring actually exists). The problem of bias also comes in. On this point the scales used may have been biased. Whenever a person has only one of two choices and a question may be personally repugnant he may not respond at all as many did in the sample. This was true especially among the Negro population in the sample. Many questionnaires were incomplete. But it is surprising that there were very few refusals to accept the questionnaire. This may have been because of the interest in politics in the city. Also a strong Republican Party competes very well with the Democratic Party which makes for an interested and informed public. The scales used may have been repugnant to many people because they were taken almost verbatim from The Authoritarian Personality and other sources which were perhaps out of date. Additional comments on the questionnaire as well as by word of mouth varied. Some felt such questions on social and political problems should be asked, they were very important to good government. Others felt

the questions were poorly worded, out of date, and not fair in giving them a choice other than to agree or disagree. Since a forced response scale was used on most of the questions many people probably found cause not to answer many of the questions. If an "it depends" or "don't know" category was used many of the scales would have been useless. As it was enough of the questionnaires were completed to provide statistics for valid tests. Because the questions were taken almost verbatim and are possibly out of date in some respects, the use of the data in making inferences must be limited. To believe that such attitudes that were measured exist is being too optimistic as to the power of attitudinal scales. More likely a predisposition is being measured or sounded. Thus if such trends or predispositions are found there is a possibility for more extensive measures to find Conservatism or Authoritarianism. With these cautions the result of the Public Opinion Questionnaires can be considered according to the several variables.

#### A. CONSERVATISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM

The case for conservatism, especially among Wallace voters is not significant in this survey. Because of the sample's size and its use as a pilot study, results

are highly tentative, especially with a very small percentage of Wallace voters. Only 96 respondents completed the Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale of fourteen items.<sup>66</sup> The results are fairly evenly divided as shown in Table 8.

Table 8                      Conservative-Liberal Attitudes

<u>Conservative</u>	49% (47)
<u>Liberal</u>	51% (49)

Fourteen of these 96 respondents voted for the Wallace-Griffin 1968 Presidential Ticket, with 8 of the 14 scored as having a conservative attitude. As to party affiliation there was only one voter registered as American Independent found in the sample.

Table 9                      Conservatism and Party Affiliation

	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>American Independent</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>No Party</u>	<u>No Response</u>
<u>Conservative</u>	17	17	1	6	2	4
<u>Liberal</u>	36	7		2	1	3
<u>No Response</u>	7	2		1		2
	60	26	1	9	3	9

<sup>66</sup> All scales are listed in Appendix A. The questionnaire is listed in Appendix B.

The overwhelming Democratic affiliation in Table 9 would seem to be a traditional phenomena in southern states. But the 1968 Presidential vote shows differently, that perhaps the issues or candidates cross-pressured many Democrats as well as Republicans. Table 10 shows the results of the Presidential vote:

Table 10   Conservatism and the 1968 Presidential Vote

	<u>Nixon- Agnew</u>	<u>Humphrey- Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace- Griffin</u>	<u>Didn't Vote</u>	<u>No Response</u>
<u>Conservative</u>	27	7	8	2	5
<u>Liberal</u>	10	29	5	1	4
<u>No Response</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Totals</u>	39	42	14	4	11

As would be predicted those respondents who voted for Nixon were judged conservative, that is 59% (27), and for Humphrey 59% (29) were judged as liberal. Meanwhile 62% (8) of Wallace voters were judged as conservative.

In relation to authoritarianism other common characteristics of conservatism were measured in the survey data. Some of these characteristics are attitudes for which standard scales can be found. They are highly correlated



theoretically with conservatism and authoritarianism.<sup>67</sup>

The selected attitudes are ethnocentrism, misanthropy, and civil libertarianism.

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Table 11                      Conservatism and Ethnocentrism

	<u>Ethnocentrism</u>		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Conservative</u>	24	16	40
<u>Liberal</u>	15	34	49

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Ethnocentrism is a strong feeling toward oneself and his in-group as being good and toward the out-group, as minorities, foreigners or other people not holding one's same beliefs, as bad, dangerous or inferior, which is a trait similar to the authoritarian syndrome described by Lane.<sup>68</sup>

A definite relationship can be found between conservatives and highly ethnocentric voters. Of all the conservative respondents that completed the Ethnocentric Scale (14 items), 60% were highly ethnocentric, while

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<sup>67</sup>Refer back to pages 49-50 and 43-48 for argument on this topic.

<sup>68</sup>Refer back to page 15 from Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," APSR.

40% were low. Liberals were the reverse, 69% were low and 31% were high on ethnocentrism. This relationship is a definite support to the argument that a sense of community exists in this southern city. This sense of community can best be discussed in relation to conservatism and authoritarianism.

Table 12 shows the cross-tabulation of conservatism and authoritarianism; no definite relationship is present.

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<u>Table 12</u>	<u>Conservatism and Authoritarianism</u>	
	<u>Authoritarian</u>	<u>Equalitarian</u>
<u>Conservative</u>	32	11
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>Totals</u>	65	24

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But there is a preponderance of authoritarian respondents. Just as many liberals (72%), as conservatives (74%) scored as authoritarian, instead of equalitarian. Robert Lane's four item Authoritarian-Equalitarian Scale was used. The four items used in 1952 and 1956 surveys pertain to four outstanding traits of authoritarianism.<sup>69</sup> They are the need for discipline in young people, the need for strong leaders, a sense of power situations, and a strong sense

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid.

of honor. These traits and their relation to a sense of community and conservatism can be seen in the existence of strong primary group relationships as the family and church, along with a strong localism.<sup>70</sup> In conservatism, community is related to it by valuing a social hierarchy of ascribed statuses and roles, with duties more important than personal rights.<sup>71</sup> Authoritarianism is related to both community and conservatism by stressing the importance of a strong internalized authority in the family, church, and government which are honored traditional institutions.<sup>72</sup>

Ethnocentrism as an expression of in-group, out-group feelings correlates with the existence of strong primary group ties, ascribed statuses and roles, and traditional authority. In all, ethnocentrism would seem to a strong cohesive force for the groups within a community of the Gemeinschaft type which would in turn correlate with conservatism and authoritarianism.

If this southern city--Piedmont--is to have this "sense of community" (Gemeinschaft), it also has elements

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<sup>70</sup> Lane, Political Ideology, op. cit., pp. 222-226; also McClosky, "Conservatism and Personality," APSR, loc. cit.

<sup>71</sup> Lane, ibid.; also Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," loc. cit.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

of conservative and authoritarian attitudes. In relation to Tönnies' Gemeinschaft-~~gesellschaft~~ types (discussed in Chapter I) there are two discrepancies that would contradict both conservative and authoritarian attitudes. Scales that measured attitudes toward misanthropy and civil libertarianism are the source of these two discrepancies.

Misanthropy is an element of both conservatism and authoritarianism, due to cynicism as to the nature of man. Conservatism as a political philosophy has underlying it the idea that man is bad, evil, and imperfect.<sup>73</sup> Man then must be restrained, thus conservatism's stress on duties and self restraint rather than personal rights. If man cannot restrain himself then a strong authority must do so. As an attitude then, misanthropy is a view that man is base or evil and must look out for himself because no one else will.

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Table 13

Conservatism and Misanthropy

Misanthropy

	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Conservative</u>	14	31	45
<u>Liberal</u>	24	23	47

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<sup>73</sup> McClosky, "Conservatism and Personality," APSR, loc. cit.



Theoretically the conservative should be more cynical as to the nature of man. But the opposite prevails in this sample showing little variation with 69% of those judged conservative low in misanthropy. Even among liberals 49% all judged as liberal are low, showing little variation. When compared with authoritarianism, misanthropy can be seen as having an inverse relationship.

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Table 14            Authoritarianism and Misanthropy

	<u>Misanthropy</u>		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Authoritarianism</u>	29	40	69
<u>Equalitarianism</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>	26

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Again as with conservatism both authoritarian and equalitarian attitudes have a low misanthropic attitude or predisposition, with 58% of all judged authoritarian low, and 65% of all equalitarian as low. This low misanthropic relationship seems to coincide with a predisposition toward civil libertarianism.

One would expect the conservative and authoritarian to be more supportive of duties and responsibilities rather than civil rights. A ten item scale was used to test for the support for civil rights (Table 15) as found in the Bill of Rights.

Table 15            Conservatism and Civil Liberties

	<u>Libertarianism</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	10	32	42
<u>Liberal</u>	15	30	45

Robert A. Schoenberger's modified scale was used<sup>74</sup> (in Appendix). The results of the survey in Table 15 show that 76% of those judged conservative give more support to civil liberties than liberals, of whom 67% give support to civil liberties.

These two discrepancies in a conservative attitude can be speculated upon as part of the changing values a community acquires as it makes a transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft. The city of Piedmont lends support to this since it is becoming industrialized into a modern city. That it is a southern city and still has a farming community in its contiguous area shows it has a heritage of an agrarian economy and community and the values that go with it. In this sense there is an existence of both societal types as Tonnies describes them in a period of transition. With pressure on southern states to desegregate

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<sup>74</sup> See Appendix A.

their schools and businesses there seems to be an optimistic and progressive current for growth and development. This can only break down the strong cohesiveness of the community to develop secondary and contractual relationships which are considered necessary for a technological and industrial society and to make the transition to a Gesellschaft type society.<sup>75</sup>

Many writers have argued that the alienation and rootlessness of modern man has been caused by the loss of community which results from the loss of primary group relations for secondary ones, as society becomes more complex.<sup>76</sup> The analysis of this "sense of community" can be belabored, but its relationship to conservative and authoritarian attitudes points out that it would be useful in further research about political ideology, attitudinal scales, and voting behavior. The analysis of survey data now turns to some inferences concerning authoritarianism.

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<sup>75</sup>Refer back to pages 9-10, also 4-8 for full analysis.

<sup>76</sup>A few of these writers are Sebastian De Grazia, The Political Community (1948); Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (1955); and William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (1959). One writer--Russell Kirk--has written about the same loss of community and encourages a return to it in the sense of Burkean conservatism by returning to the soil and farm.

Table 16Authoritarianism and The 1968 Presidential Vote

	<u>Nixon- Agnew</u>	<u>Humphrey- Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace- Griffin</u>	<u>Didn't Vote</u>	<u>No Response</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Authoritarian</u>	26	29	9	2	6	82
<u>Equalitarian</u>	10	10	3	1	1	25
<u>No Response</u>	3	3	2	1	2	11

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The sample is overwhelmingly authoritarian (72%). This makes it a little easier to infer that Wallace supporters tended to be authoritarian. In turn there is reason to believe as in Table 17 that those who are authoritarian and low in civil libertarianism would more likely be Wallace voters and supporters in a larger sample because of Wallace's appeal, and support on the basis of the "law and order" issue and protection of private property. These issues stress protection of property, order and perhaps duties rather than personal liberties.

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Table 17      Authoritarianism and Civil Liberties

	<u>Civil Liberties</u>		
	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Authoritarianism</u>	24	43	67
<u>Equalitarianism</u>	2	21	23



Authoritarianism is thought of as a threat to an equalitarian society. But as it has been pointed out authoritarianism is often an integral part of a sense of community and conservatism. An alternative explanation is that the 1968 election and the campaign issue of "law and order" created a reaction to many of the events of 1968-69. Where disorder and anarchy showed its head there was the opinion that this never happened before either in the city streets or on the college campuses; there was a greater need for discipline in many people's eyes. This may well have created an authoritarian reaction, if the attitude did not already exist.

Whatever has been offered above still leaves the impression there are elements of a conservative and authoritarian trend in political thinking in America. These elements contain contradictions. It is important to realize that it is the recognition of these contradictions that also describes a belief system. Thus Rokeach's Open and Closed Mind provides one with a logical connection to the argument that authoritarianism does exist. Rokeach's analysis shows the closed mind does not recognize the contradictions in its beliefs. Since authoritarianism does not seem to correlate well with a high libertarianism (see Table 17) or with a low misanthropic attitude (see table 14) demonstrates that the closed mind as a unit of analysis may be useful.

Many of the campaign issues coincide with conservatism and authoritarianism. These can be looked at first in relation to state's rights.

## B. STATE'S RIGHTS

The central issue of state's rights is over the degree of centralization of political power; that is should it be wielded more by the federal government or by the state governments? Chapter IV has investigated state's rights more as a pragmatic policy rather than a political theory or doctrine. In the South it developed along with a conservative agricultural society. It developed to protect the vested interests of such a society, its status quo or even its way of life. There is reason to believe that if the South held a constitutional majority in the early days of the nation, the North may have developed a state's rights doctrine to protect industrial interests. Regardless of the vested interest's that were protected the problem of who held the ultimate political power in the nation to make authoritative decisions binding on the whole society was settled by the Civil War.

It was solved legally, but culturally normative behavior continued to support state's rights. The question can be posed does such support still exist in the South

and if so is state's rights a relevant political doctrine?  
If so does it relate to conservatism and authoritarianism?

What follows is the group of issues concerning  
state's rights that respondents were asked to give their  
opinion:

School Segregation  
Government Ownership  
Government Planning  
Law and Order  
Social Welfare Activity  
School Integration  
Support Government Authority  
State's Rights  
Private Property

These above issues have two main themes in State's  
Rights. One is that of decentralizing government; the  
second is that of opposing the collectivism of the "welfare  
state". Four of the issues deal with the decentralization  
of federal power. Three deal with the welfare state, and  
two others deal with "law and order" and private property.

What follows is the tabulation result of the nine  
above issues that were in the questionnaire according to  
conservative and authoritarian respondents.

State's Rights. The first issue to be considered  
is concerned with extending too much federal power over  
state and local governments (Table 18). Of all the  
people answering, 58% agreed too much federal power had  
been extended over the states; 11% said it depends "how you



look at it"; 20% disagreed that it was too much; and 11% said they "didn't know" anything about it. Over half of the sample (58%) supported state's rights. Further analysis of these respondents who agreed too much federal power had been extended over the states showed that 64% (34) were judged conservative and 76% (39) were judged authoritarian. Those respondents judged as liberal numbered 36% (19) and 24% (12) were judged as equalitarian. This gives some support to an association between state's rights, conservatism, and authoritarianism.

<u>Table 18</u>		<u>State's Rights</u>			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>It Depends</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	34	3	2	4	
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>	
<u>Totals</u>	53 <sup>a</sup>	10	18	9	90
<u>Authoritarian</u>	39	6	12	9	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	
<u>Totals</u>	51 <sup>a</sup>	10	17	12	90

<sup>a</sup>Differences in tabulations result from the completeness or incompleteness of responses to the various attitude scales. Some attitude scales were completed while others were incomplete, this discrepancy will apply to all following tables.



Government Ownership. Government ownership of public utilities is a secondary issue to state's rights since it infringes on state and local government power or state and local autonomy in public services and welfare. On this issue respondents could either agree or disagree that government should own all public utilities (Table 19). It is contradictory to the thesis that state's rights is related to conservatism and authoritarianism when 89% of 96 respondents agreed to government ownership while only 11% disagreed. This can only be explained as either a contradiction in the respondents' belief system or just a reaction to upset the results of a questionnaire that was personally repugnant. As a contradiction in a belief system many respondents may feel government ownership-- federal or state--would be beneficial to the community, thus allowing them to support government ownership while criticizing a strong federal government within a somewhat closed belief-disbelief dimension as analyzed by Rokeach.<sup>77</sup>

Of those who agreed with the question on government ownership 55% (47) were conservative, 45% were liberal, showing little variation. The authoritarian-equalitarian attitude has some variation, but unexpectedly in the

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<sup>77</sup> Refer to Chapter IV, pp. 44-46.

direction of authoritarianism with 73% (61) "agreeing" while only 27% (23) of those judged liberal agreed to government ownership. If this contradiction honestly exists, this gives further support of the relationships between the "closed" mind or authoritarianism and conservatism.

Table 19

Government Ownership

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	47	--	
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>11</u>	
<u>Totals</u>	85	11	96
<u>Authoritarian</u>	61	7	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>3</u>	
<u>Totals</u>	84	10	94

School Segregation. The issue of school segregation deals with "seperate but equal" facilities. Negroes have rights, but it is best to keep them seperate from whites. The response to this issue was to agree or disagree. Again another contradiction is found with 62% disagreeing with segregation while 38% did agree (Table 20).

One would expect opinions to run against integration in the South, especially if enforced by federal laws. Of those who disagreed with segregation in schools 41% (24) were judged conservative and 59% (35) were considered as liberal, not quite a 10% difference. Liberal attitudes do coincide with integration as would be predicted while conservative attitudes coincide with segregation. Those respondents who agreed with segregation shows 62% (23) judged as conservative and only 38% (14) as liberal. On the authoritarian-equalitarian attitude dimension of those who agreed with segregation 89% (33) were judged authoritarian with only 11% (4) as equalitarian as would be predicted. But a contradiction arises when examining those respondents who disagreed with segregation: 64% (39) were judged authoritarian and 36% (22) were liberal.

Table 20

	<u>School Segregation</u>		
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	23	24	
<u>Liberal</u>	14	35	
<u>Totals</u>	37	59	96
<hr/>			
<u>Authoritarian</u>	33	39	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	4	22	
<u>Totals</u>	37	61	98

The contradiction may only be an apparent one because the entire sample is overwhelmingly authoritarian in attitudes. Since inferences are to be made the contradiction might be further explained by the "sense of community" analyzed in Chapter I and IV. Here the contradictions of the closed mind in its belief-disbelief dimension might also explain this. But the existence of the "community" and the period of transition to a Gesellschaft type society would explain the dominance of authoritarianism as a vestige of the "community" or Gemeinschaft society. This same analysis was used in the study of Tables 15 and 17 about civil libertarianism.

School Integration. School integration is the fourth issue concerned with the decentralization of federal power. This issue deals with the interference of the federal government in integrating local schools. Respondents answered to the statement "the government in Washington should stay out of the question of whether white and colored children go to the same school." It seems that since a sample of southern voters disagreed to school segregation they agree with school integration or disagree to the question posed about integration. Agreement on this issue is concerned with keeping the federal government out of local school systems. The results of 91



respondents on this issue (Table 21) are fairly well split-- 40% agreed that government should not interfere with local schools on the issue of race, while 38% disagreed. Only 21% said "it depends" and 1% "didn't know" about it.

The answer seems that since a majority disagrees with segregation, integration is acceptable. The question then becomes how will integration proceed, especially when 21% say "it depends". Localism seems to influence these results and points out the present disagreement in the south and the nation as to how integration should be carried out. It should be noted though that of those 40% who agreed with government non-interference 67% (24) were conservative, 86% (30) authoritarian and only 33% liberal with 14% equalitarian. With those respondents who disagreed a large majority, 76% (26) were liberal.

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Table 21

School Integration

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>It Depends</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	24	10	8	1	
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>          </u>
<u>Totals</u>	36	19	34	2	91
<hr/>					
<u>Authoritarian</u>	30	11	26	3	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>          </u>
<u>Totals</u>	35	20	37	3	85

But with those who disagreed with government non-interference 70% (26) were judged authoritarian; a contradiction not expected to support the relationship between state's rights and conservatism. This contradiction can be explained as in the previous issue on the basis of the transition from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft society and the existence of a predominantly authoritarian sample. School integration as an issue within state's rights has yielded data to support its relationship with conservatism. Authoritarianism finds support because of its narrow variation on this issue.

The second theme of state's rights deals with the welfare state. What are the relationships of government planning, social welfare activity and support of governmental authority to state's rights, conservatism and authoritarianism.

Government Planning. Government planning is an important part of the "welfare state" which plans key sectors of the economy for it is an issue that conservatives often view as socialistic if not communistic. To the conservative, planning disrupts the status quo, the grand scheme of things, or the slow organic growth necessary for society. To a sense of community, planning would seem instrumental and shallow since growth is considered to be organic and slow to be of any good.

To support the existence of these variables of conservatism, community, and authoritarianism the response to the question "depressions can be prevented by proper government planning" is as follows (from Table 22): 18% agree, 82% disagree. Of those who disagree 44% (34) are judged conservative, 56% (45) liberal; on the authoritarian-equalitarian dimension 74% (58) are judged authoritarian, 13% equalitarian. There is little variation here, in fact the liberal disagrees almost as much as the authoritarian and more than the conservative. The vestiges of values of a sense of community in a transition period to a Gesellschaft society seems to be part of the explanation as it is on probably all the issues.

Table 22Government Planning

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	13	34	
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>      </u>
<u>Totals</u>	17	79	96
<hr/>			
<u>Authoritarian</u>	12	58	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>      </u>
<u>Totals</u>	17	78	95

The closed mind as a unit of analysis would also be applicable on the basis of the belief-disbelief dimension, but less important than the sense of community.

Table 23

Social Welfare Activity

	<u>About Right</u>	<u>Too Much</u>	<u>Not Enough</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	7	21	6	9	
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>8</u>	
<u>Totals</u>	11	25	35	17	88
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<u>Authoritarian</u>	9	19	24	14	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	
<u>Totals</u>	12	25	36	18	91

Social Welfare Activity. This issue asked if the national government should or should not do more in the field of social welfare. The responses were "about right," "too much," "not enough," and "don't know." The results (from Table 23) are as follows: 13% said it was "about right"; 27% said "too much"; 40% said "not enough" and 20% said "don't know". It is interesting to note that only 27% of the respondents said there was "too much" welfare, while at least 53% said there was a need for social welfare



if not enough of it. In recalling George Wallace's 1968 Presidential platform, care for the aged and Medicare had a high priority. This points out regardless of the fear of federal power, social welfare activity is acceptable even to the state's righter's. In fact in the American two party system both Republicans and Democrats support social welfare, except in the degree or intensity of support. Even conservative politicians find it necessary to support social welfare policies to win votes. The reverse would be expected, that conservatives criticize and liberals support social welfare policy. To some extent more conservatives 84% (21) tended to say there is "too much" social welfare activity than liberals; more liberals 84% (29) than conservatives tended to say there is "not enough". On the authoritarian-equalitarian dimension there is little variation on this issue as has occurred in previous issues.

Support Federal Authority. This third and final issue dealing with the "welfare state" is concerned with supporting the federal government in disciplining college disorders by cutting off student aid. The responses on this question are fairly even (Table 24). Results show 38% agreed to take aid away, 30% disagreed, 26% said "it depends",

only 6% said they didn't know about it. This issue may well be a poor one to compare with state's rights and conservatism. Response to this issue shows little variation.

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Table 24      Support Federal Government Authority

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>It Depends</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	18	8	15	2	
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>      </u>
<u>Totals</u>	35	23	27	5	90
<hr/>					
<u>Authoritarian</u>	26	18	20	4	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>      </u>
<u>Totals</u>	35	24	28	6	93

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This is probably a reaction to what may seem to be anarchy or danger to oneself. Few people are really close to campus rebellions and may not be too alarmed, not as much as a city riot or demonstration. So the remoteness of the campus may cushion the reaction against such disturbances. None the less a reaction may have occurred which has little relation to conservatism.

Two final issues concerning law and order and private property have been important parts of the 1968 Presidential campaigns and election. State's rights is related to these two issues in that the states want the right to enforce liberties as well as protect them and private property. Most people who support state's rights are southerners who feel the laxity of federal enforcement to protect private property and the white man's rights has caused damage in greater enforcement of Negro rights. Therefore state's rights may relate to stricter law enforcement and protection of private property. This is not to say "law and order" and the protection of private property were not relevant issues outside the south in 1968. If conservatism prevailed in moderation with the election of Richard Nixon, private property should be considered an integral part of it. And, if authoritarianism has been investigated in the same campaign then election appeals of "law and order" should be considered important. Since Wallace stressed "law and order" and was accused of using it as a signal for racism it would seem to relate more to authoritarianism. Both of these issues should be looked at in relation to civil liberties rather than state's rights.

### C. CIVIL LIBERTIES AND PRIVATE PROPERTY

The Negro civil rights movement of mid-twentieth century has had a profound effect on American society. Many citizens may feel it is time to give the Negro first class citizenship with all its opportunities to achieve the supposed American dream. There no doubt has been much soul-searching to gain these ends. But many cultural norms still exist to influence the role of the Negro in American society because of a few centuries of slavery, then a century of segregation. These cultural norms and roles arose, first as master-slave; then white-"nigger"; and now white-Negro. These roles enforced segregation informally if not formally. The effects of traditional norms embedded by segregation brings a backlash reaction to the civil rights movement. Many are still opposed to giving the Negro first class citizenship. Here the conservative may want to retain the traditional statuses and roles as well as authority that kept the Negro inferior.

In the south private property was always highly valued. It provided status through prestige and wealth. But today when the civil rights movement endangers private property by asking for a collective solution to the problem of providing equal rights and opportunities it neglects private property and order. If a society is to realize



a democratic ideal, a conservative sense of community cannot hold sway because it would stress traditional authority that protects the status quo needed for a democracy and its ideals because a collectivism based on an interdependence of social, economic and political roles is needed. The Gesellschaft also needs rationality and to govern human relations not the traditional authority and roles of Gemeinschaft. Here civil liberties should be given priority over private property because this collectivism runs against the idea of private property theoretically.

In looking at the survey data, it was found 71% (of 88) scored high on civil libertarianism, with 29% scoring low in support of civil liberties (Table 25). How relevant is this when it comes to the possession of private property? An overwhelming 81% of the sample agrees private property should be protected while only 18% disagree or say "it depends" (1% "don't know").

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Table 25      Civil Libertarianism and Private Property

<u>Civil Liberties</u>	<u>Private Property</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>It Depends</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
<u>Low</u>	23	2	1	--	26
<u>High</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>Totals</u>	71	9	7	1	88

Meanwhile 68% (48) of those who agreed, scored high on libertarianism, with 32% (23) of those who agreed scored low. How much more valuable is private property than civil liberties? This can be another element of community that has cut across many other issues. In looking at Table 26 about private property, an overwhelming majority--78%--agree to the protection of private property. Only 8% disagree and 13% say "it depends". The results show almost everyone values private property.

Table 26

Private Property

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>It Depends</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
<u>Conservative</u>	39	3	--	1	
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>      </u>
<u>Totals</u>	71	12	7	1	91
<hr/>					
<u>Authoritarian</u>	58	7	4	1	
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>      </u>
<u>Totals</u>	74	13	7	1	95

Of those who agree 55% (39) were conservatives and 45% (32) were liberal; 78% (58) were authoritarian and 12% (16) were equalitarian.

Support of civil liberties may not be as strong as the data suggests, because of the strong value of private property. Many people may have attempted to answer questions in ways that would seem favorable. A look at the issue of "law and order" may further clarify the situation.

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Table 27      Civil Libertarianism and Law and Order

<u>Civil Liberties</u>	<u>Law and Order</u>			
	<u>About Right</u>	<u>Too Much</u>	<u>Not Enough</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
<u>Low</u>	3	0	19	2
<u>High</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Totals</u>	12	3	64	7

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"Law and order" means stricter enforcement of the law and a type of tighter control over society to create order. There is the danger to be considered as seen in Wallace's slogan of enforcing the law too strictly to the extent some liberties are suppressed. Table 27 shows 73% (64) of those responding say there is "not enough" law and order. Of those saying there is "not enough" law and order, 70% (45) are highly libertarian. This seems to support further the idea that private property as an integral part of conservatism is more important than

civil liberties. Though this is limited, it could be the values of community being challenged by the modern resellschaft type society. The data shows perhaps man is alienated and anomic as a result of losing his sense of community in a transition period to a resellschaft type society. Further analysis shows that of the 73% of the respondents that said there was not enough law and order (Table 28); 53% (35) were conservative and 47% (31) were liberal; 77% (51) were authoritarian and 23% (15) were equalitarian.

	<u>Law and Order</u>			
	<u>About Right</u>	<u>Too Much</u>	<u>Not Enough</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
<u>Conservative</u>	4	1	35	4
<u>Liberal</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Totals</u>	12	3	66	9
<u>Authoritarian</u>	8	1	51	6
<u>Equalitarian</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Totals</u>	12	3	66	10

Again as in most of the issues conservatism and authoritarianism seem to coincide. Though on some issues the concept



of the closed mind and gemeinschaft and gesellschaft were used to explain contradictions and unexpected variations. The thesis that conservatism and authoritarianism are closely interrelated with state's rights and a sense of community has found tentative support in the analysis of the previous issues. The support is by no means definite or final, but the data does point out some trends on political attitudes and points out the direction of further research on changes in political attitudes and opinions.

## CHAPTER VII

### A REACTION OR HONEST CONSERVATIVE PROGRAM

Chapter I posed three questions central to this thesis which were answered by subsequent chapters, both theoretically and empirically; but only tentatively:

1. Is state's rights a relevant political doctrine today?
2. Does conservatism suppress individual liberties for property rights?
3. Does such a conservatism relate to authoritarianism?

As a doctrine that preaches political supremacy of the states, state's rights is no longer relevant. But, it can be concluded that state's rights does have relevance today as "an institutional device for better preserving the rights of a people of a state."<sup>78</sup> Results of the survey point out support for state's rights as seen in the nine issues of school segregation, government ownership, government planning, law and order, social welfare activity, school integration, support government authority, state's rights and private property. The results of the survey also support the thesis that conservatism and authoritarianism were closely related in the 1968 Presidential elections.

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<sup>78</sup>

A.P. Grimes, American Political Thought, loc. cit.

These attitudes as definite political trends in America today are often closely related to a sense of community. A close relationship has been defended between conservatism, authoritarianism and a sense of community. Private property as a traditional norm is closely related to conservatism and community. If community has been seen as cutting across many of the issues and variables an answer to the question of suppressing civil liberties for private property can be seen. Agreement to the protection of private property was shown to be much greater than the support of civil liberties.<sup>79</sup> As has been theorized throughout this paper that if the south is a mixture of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft in a transition period, the values of community are more dearly held. The infringement by the gesellschaft type society has created alienation, anomie, and fear.<sup>80</sup> The men that feel the impact of this gesellschaft society find only one alternative but to react against it unless they resign themselves to accept the change. Thus what the survey has pointed out in the last part of Chapter VI is that the civil rights movement today has created a reaction--a white backlash which may

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<sup>79</sup> Data found in Chapter VI, pp. 89-90.

<sup>80</sup> Reference made in Chapter I, pp. 4-10; Chapter IV, pp. 38-40; Chapter VI, passim.

be supported by values of gemeinschaft. Many citizens feel equal rights and opportunities must be given to the Negro but not at the expense of endangering private property or their own rights and values.

With the three questions tentatively answered another problem arises. The question of how change will take place was addressed in the introduction. Is it to be within the traditional institutions of American politics i.e. the two party system, a fragmentation of the party system; or is to be outside of these institutions-- revolution or anarchy? All three alternatives were witnessed in 1968.

The traditional two party system has always been able to channel conflict and ideological clashes to bring about change peacefully. But did 1968 show a failure of the two parties to accomodate all the demands of the American people for a change? If so there may be a need to review political ideas and policies. Since the basis of American politics has been liberal Lockean democracy from the start of the nation there has never really been a sound foundation for a conservative ideology in the Burkean sense. If it has been reactionary, no viable alternative has ever been offered in place of a liberal democracy. With the fragmentation of the two party system



into a third party the consensus provided by the two major parties in the past is broken. To some extent a democracy depends on a consensus which is endangered when a third party arises and receives support on a narrow ideological base. Usually a third party movement is an attempt by a minority to force the two major parties to make major policy changes. The State's Rights Party challenged the party system in 1948 headed by Strom Thurmond. The State's Rights Party of 1948 wanted to retain segregation and the "integrity of the races." George C. Wallace formed the American Independent Party in 1968 for much the same reason as the 1948 State's Rights Party. Segregation was not so much the issue. Integration was already accepted; how integration would take place was the problem. Just as the 1948 party, George Wallace condemned "centralized bureaucratic government" for infringing on the rights of the individuals of the states. Interference with the local schools and Supreme Court decisions on desegregation, freedom of choice plans and so on are the sore points that incite Wallace's anger.

A political party in America cannot have too much success if it is formed on a narrow ideological base. The Republicans and Democrats have always had a spectrum from liberal to conservative within their parties. Their

appeal has always been broad within the American public. But in times of strain and disorder in the political system many people look to someone to calm their fears. This seems to be what Wallace has done. He satisfied many by saying what they wanted to hear about "law and order"; the Supreme Court, running the local schools, and bussing for a few.

Wallace realizes the narrow ideological base of the American Independent Party. He also understands American two party politics and its broad based appeal. On August 29-30, 1969, Wallace talked about the impact of his third party movement on the American party system; while attending the 14th annual all-white Citizen's Councils of America (a self-admitted champion of segregation) he made these remarks.<sup>81</sup>

Our movement did have impact. . . . because the average citizen of every state understood what we were talking about . . . . The greatest significance of our campaign, the strength and impact and success of our movement was that the other two national parties took identical positions on the issues and responded identically to them in the future. And when the campaign wound up there wasn't a dime's worth of difference in what any one of the three candidates were saying.

Wallace is an experienced politician. He has read his history and studied politics enough to realize the fate

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<sup>81</sup> "Wallace Confident of Success," The Charlotte Observer, August 31, 1969, p. 15A.

of third parties. As a practical politician he seems to have tried to honestly force a realignment of the policies of the two major parties. Though he was militant and often provoked disorder, he was working within the traditional party and political system, not outside of it. Many of the New Left groups would work for change outside the system or try to destroy it as they often espouse.

Wallace has developed a powerful instrument in his third party along with a conservative trend in American political thinking. He is in a position to force further change in policy, but does realize his limitations. Wallace knows his third party will lead a precarious existence. He is optimistic about it:

I wish the time would come when there would be no need for this movement to exist, because if the time ever comes that its not needed, it means it has been successful. It would have played its part in orienting the other two parties to the position the majority of the American People wanted them to take.<sup>82</sup>

This may well support a conservatism. Hopefully it can be a type of organic conservatism where growth in the system is accepted when needed. If it is a reactionary status quo type of conservatism only polarization can

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

occur. The Burkean conservative would accept change and is needed for constructive criticism of what often seems haphazard liberal politics. Because of the lack of a traditional conservatism Wallace may honestly be trying to provide that conservative alternative. But as V.O. Key has stated, in the South "politics revolve around the . . . Negro" and his position in society,<sup>83</sup> i.e. segregated or integrated. Though Wallace's broad appeal to the nation was not so narrowly based on the Negro's position in society, it would seem Wallace's politics are reactionary, rather than constructive--with the position of the Negro and "federal bureaucratic power" as central themes. No definite answer can be made as to which type of conservatism is involved. Much closer analysis is needed and even then it may provide only a tentative answer as to what the opinions and motivations of an American political leader mean.

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<sup>83</sup>V.O. Key, Southern Politics, p. 5.



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## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX A:

## ATTITUDINAL SCALES

## I. ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE: SUGGESTED FINAL FORM

## PART B. NEGRO SUBSCALE

1. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and prevent too much contact with whites.
2. It would be a mistake to ever have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
3. Negro musicians may sometimes be as good as white musicians, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white banas.
4. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.
5. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.
6. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

## PART C. OTHER MINORITIES AND PATRIOTISM

1. The people on welfare prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.
2. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.
3. Now that the United Nations is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.
4. Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such patriotic action, or else be abolished.
5. Puerto Ricans are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly and go around with white girls.

6. America may not be perfect, but the American way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
7. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.
8. The best guarantee of our national security is for America to have the biggest army and navy in the world and the secret of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

## II. THE SECOND FORM OF THE POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM SCALE

- 1.<sup>a</sup> Labor unions should become stronger and have more influence generally.
- 2.<sup>a</sup> Most government controls over business should continue after the Vietnam War.
- 3.<sup>a</sup> If America had more men like Hubert Humphrey in office, we would get along much better.
4. The artist and the professor are of just as much value to society as the businessman and the manufacturer.
5. It would be dangerous for the U.S. to cooperate too closely with Russia.
6. The best political candidate to vote for is the one whose greatest interest is in fighting vice and graft.
- 7.<sup>a</sup> No one should be allowed to earn more than \$25,000 a year.
- 8.<sup>a</sup> It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living.
- 9.<sup>a</sup> The government should own and operate all public utilities (transportation, gas, electric, railroads, etc.).
- 10.<sup>a</sup> Depressions can be prevented by proper government planning.
- 11.<sup>a</sup> Poverty could be almost entirely done away with if we made certain basic changes in our social and economic system.

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<sup>a</sup>  
Liberal items

12. Men like Henry Ford or Andrew Carnegie who overcome all competition on the road to success, are models for all young people to admire and imitate.
13. In general, the best way of aiding our fellow men is to give time or money to some worthy charity.

### III. ATTITUDES TOWARD CIVIL LIBERTIES

1. "There should be a law to prevent people from making speeches against our form of government."
2. "Books which oppose churches and religion should be removed from local public libraries."
3. "A high school teacher whose loyalty has been questioned before a committee of Congress should be fired, even if he isn't a Communist."
4. "State governments should have power to pass laws making public speeches against racial and religious groups illegal."
5. "When the police are looking for evidence against a suspected criminal, they should not have to have a warrant to search a house."
6. "Large-scale roundups of 'undesirables' are proper as long as they are restricted to people with known criminal records."
7. "The government is acting properly when it refuses a passport to a socialist."
8. "If a man accused of a major crime is acquitted and and apparently incriminating evidence is later discovered, he should be retried."
9. "Legislative committees should not investigate the political beliefs of university faculty members."
10. "It is not reasonable to suspect the loyalty of a lawyer who represents accused Communists before a Congressional Committee."



## IV. MISANTHROPY SCALE

1. "Most people can be trusted."
2. "People are more inclined to look out for themselves than to help others."
3. "Human nature is fundamentally cooperative."
4. "No one is going to care much what happens to you when you get right down to it."
5. "If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you."

## V. AUTHORITARIANISM-EQUALITARIANISM SCALE

1. "Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict."
2. "Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power."
3. "A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk."
4. "An insult to your honor should not be forgotten."

## VI. ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROLES

In which of the following do you oppose any federal role?  
(Circle your answer)

1. Financing education (building and operating cost)
2. Financing public housing
3. The war on poverty
4. Medical care for the aged
5. a. Combatting depressions  
b. Combatting depression through public expenditure
6. Setting minimum wage rates

## VII. ATTITUDES TOWARD GENERAL GOVERNMENTAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROLES

In which of the following do you oppose any governmental role? (Circle your answer)

1. Financing public housing
2. The war on poverty
3. Medical care for the aged
4. Combatting depressions
5. Regulating public utilities

APPENDIX B:

PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I

1. Please check:
  1. ☐ Male
  2. ☐ Female
2. Check the appropriate space for your age:
  1. ☐ under 18 years of age
  2. ☐ 19-25 years of age
  3. ☐ 26-35 years of age
  4. ☐ 36-45 years of age
  5. ☐ 46-55 years of age
  6. ☐ 56-65 years of age
  7. ☐ over 65 years of age
3. What kind of work do you engage in?  
Please write in the type of position you hold at work.
4. The following is a scale of possible income that may be earned in a one year period time. Check the one that is appropriate for you:
  1. ☐ \$10,000 and over
  2. ☐ \$7,500-\$9,999
  3. ☐ \$5,000-\$7,499
  4. ☐ \$4,000-\$4,999
  5. ☐ \$3,000-\$3,999
  6. ☐ \$2,000-\$2,999
  7. ☐ under \$2,000
5. Are you paid by an annual salary or by an hourly wage?  
Check one.
  1. ☐ Salary
  2. ☐ Hourly Wage
6. Circle the highest year you have completed in school.
  1. ☐ Grade school: 1 2 3 4 5 6 6 7 8
  2. ☐ High school: 9 10 11 12
  3. ☐ College: 13 14 15 16 Graduate
7. Please specify the religious denomination you are a member of or with which you are affiliated.
8. How often do you attend church?
  1. ☐ Once a week
  2. ☐ More than once a week
  3. ☐ Occasionally
  4. ☐ Once or twice a year, or on special occasions

9. Check the one that applies to you.
1. ☐ White
  2. ☐ Negro
  3. ☐ Other (explain) \_\_\_\_\_
10. Are you married or single. Check one.
1. ☐ Married
  2. ☐ Single
11. "Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and prevent too much contact with whites."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
12. "Labor unions should become stronger and have more influence generally."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 
- 1<sup>a</sup>. "It would be a mistake to ever have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 2<sup>a</sup>. "Most government control over business should continue after the Viet-Nam War."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 3<sup>a</sup>. "If America had more men like Hubert Humphrey in office, we would get along much better."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 4<sup>a</sup>. "The artist and the professor are of just as much value to society as the businessman and manufacturer."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 5<sup>a</sup>. "Negro musicians may sometimes be as good as white musicians, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white bands."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly



- 6<sup>a</sup>. "Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 7<sup>a</sup>. "It would be dangerous for the U.S. to cooperate too closely with Russia."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 8<sup>a</sup>. "The best political candidate to vote for is the one whose greatest interest is in fighting vice and graft."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- 
113. "No one should be allowed to earn more than \$25,000 a year."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
14. "It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
15. "The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflict."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
16. "Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

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17. <sup>a</sup>. These questions were used to compute scores on the personality scales but were not used on data cards because only 80 columns of data could be accommodated for cross-tabulation purposes.



17. "The government should own and operate all public utilities"(transportation, gas, electric, railroads, etc.).
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
18. "Depressions can be prevented by proper government planning."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
19. "Poverty could be almost entirely done away with if we made certain basic changes in our social and economic system."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
20. "The people on welfare prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
21. "The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
22. "Now that the United Nations is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly
23. "Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such patriotic action, or else be abolished."
1. ☐ Agree strongly
  2. ☐ Agree
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Disagree strongly

24. "Puerto Ricans are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly and go around with white girls."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
25. "Men like Henry Ford or Andrew Carnegie, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young people to admire and imitate."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
26. "In general, the best way of aiding our fellow man is to give time or money to some worthy charity."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- Cols. 27-28
29. "America may not be perfect, but the American way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
30. "It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
31. "The best guarantee of our national security is for America to have the biggest army and navy in the world and the secret of the atomic and hydrogen bombs."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly
- Cols. 32-33
34. "There should be a law to prevent people from making speeches against our form of government."  
 1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

35. "Books which oppose churches and religion should be removed from local public libraries."

1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

36. "A high school teacher whose loyalty has been questioned before a committee of Congress should be fired, even if he swears under oath that he isn't a Communist."

1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

- 
- 1<sup>b</sup>. "In which of the following do you oppose any federal role?" (Check your answer or answers)

1. ☐ Financing education (building and operating cost)  
 2. ☐ Financing public housing  
 3. ☐ The war on poverty  
 4. ☐ Medical care for the aged  
 5. ☐ a. Combatting depressions  
     ☐ b. Combatting depression through public expenditure  
 6. ☐ Setting the minimum wage rates

- 
37. "State governments should have power to pass laws making public speeches against racial and religious groups illegal."

1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

- 
- 2<sup>b</sup>. "In which of the following do you oppose any general governmental role?" (Check your answer or answers)

1. ☐ Financing public housing  
 2. ☐ The war on poverty  
 3. ☐ Medical care for the aged  
 4. ☐ Combatting depressions  
 5. ☐ Regulating public utilities

- 
38. "When the police are looking for evidence against a suspected criminal, they should not have to have a warrant to search a house."

1. ☐ Agree strongly  
 2. ☐ Agree  
 3. ☐ Disagree  
 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

- 
- <sup>b</sup>. This question is left out of data because of the very poor response by the sample subjects; it is a poorly constructed question.



39. "Large-scale roundups of 'undesirables' are proper as long as they are restricted to people with known criminal records."  
1. ☐ Agree strongly  
2. ☐ Agree  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Disagree strongly
40. "Most people can be trusted."  
1. ☐ Agree strongly  
2. ☐ Agree  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Disagree strongly
41. "The government is acting properly when it refuses a passport to a socialist."  
1. ☐ Agree strongly  
2. ☐ Agree  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Disagree strongly
42. "If a man accused of a major crime is acquitted and apparently incriminating evidence is later discovered, he should be retried."  
1. ☐ Agree strongly  
2. ☐ Agree  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Disagree strongly
43. "People are more inclined to look out for themselves than to help others."  
1. ☐ Agree strongly  
2. ☐ Agree  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Disagree strongly
44. "Legislative committees should not investigate the political beliefs of university faculty members."  
1. ☐ Agree strongly  
2. ☐ Agree  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Disagree strongly
45. "It is not reasonable to suspect the loyalty of a lawyer who represents accused Communists before a Congressional Committee."  
1. ☐ Agree strongly  
2. ☐ Agree  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Disagree strongly



Cols, 46-47

48. "Human nature is fundamentally cooperative."

- 1. ☐ Agree strongly
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Disagree
- 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

49. "No one is going to care much what happens to you when you get right down to it."

- 1. ☐ Agree strongly
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Disagree
- 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

50. "If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you."

- 1. ☐ Agree strongly
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Disagree
- 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

Cols. 51-52

53. "Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict."

- 1. ☐ Agree strongly
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Disagree
- 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

54. "What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents."

- 1. ☐ Agree strongly
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Disagree
- 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

55. "Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power."

- 1. ☐ Agree strongly
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Disagree
- 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

56. "A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk."

- 1. ☐ Agree strongly
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Disagree
- 4. ☐ Disagree strongly

57. "Some people say an insult to your honor should not be forgotten."

1. ☐ Agree strongly
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Disagree
4. ☐ Disagree strongly

Cpls. 58-59

3<sup>b</sup>. In which of the following do you support any federal role? (Check your answer or answers)

1. ☐ Financing education (building and operating cost)
2. ☐ Financing public housing
3. ☐ The war on poverty
4. ☐ Medical care for the aged
5. ☐ a. Combatting depressions  
☐ b. Combatting depression through public expenditure

b  
4. In which of the following do you support any general governmental role? (Check your answer or answers)

1. ☐ Financing public housing
2. ☐ The war on poverty
3. ☐ Medical care for the aged
4. ☐ Combatting depressions
5. ☐ Regulating public utilities

## PART II.

Now what follows are questions about some political issues. Please answer them as shown and check only one response for each question or statement. Answer all statements please.

60. I consider myself a member of the--

1. ☐ Democratic Party
2. ☐ Republican Party
3. ☐ American Independent Party
4. ☐ Independent Voters
5. ☐ No party

61. When you do vote do you vote a straight ticket or do you split your vote? I vote a--

1. ☐ straight ticket
2. ☐ split ticket

62. When you vote do you vote for the party, the candidate (the man) or the issues? I vote for the--

1. ☐ Party
2. ☐ Candidate
3. ☐ Issues
4. ☐ Other, please explain--

63. During the November, 1968 Presidential election who did you vote for? I voted for the--  
1. ☐ Nixon-Agnew ticket  
2. ☐ Humphrey-Muskie ticket  
3. ☐ Wallace-Griffin ticket  
4. ☐ Other  
5. ☐ Did not vote
64. When you voted in the November, 1968 election did you vote the same way your spouse did?  
1. ☐ Yes  
2. ☐ No
65. "Some people think the national government should do more in trying to deal with such problems as unemployment, education, housing and so on. Others think the government is already doing too much. On the whole, would you say that what the government has done has been--"  
1. ☐ "about right"  
2. ☐ "too much"  
3. ☐ "not enough"  
4. ☐ "don't know"
66. "Some people say that national, state, and local governments are not doing enough about 'law and order'; other people say too much is being done." How do you feel about it? Is what the government doing--  
1. ☐ "about right"  
2. ☐ "too much"  
3. ☐ "not enough"  
4. ☐ "don't know"
67. "Some people think that since the end of the last world war this country has gone too far in concerning itself with problems in other parts of the world." How do you feel about this? Has the U.S. gone--  
1. ☐ "too far"  
2. ☐ "not far enough"  
3. ☐ "about right"  
4. ☐ "don't know"
68. "The United States should give economic help to the poorer countries of the world, even if they can't pay for it."  
1. ☐ Agree  
2. ☐ It depends  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Don't know



69. "The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at a low cost."  
1. ☐ Agree  
2. ☐ It depends  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Don't know
70. "The government in Washington should stay out of the question of whether white and colored children go to the same school."  
1. ☐ Agree  
2. ☐ It depends  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Don't know
71. "The government ought to cut taxes even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done."  
1. ☐ Agree  
2. ☐ It depends  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Don't know
72. "Police should be given the authority to shoot looters and rioters."  
1. ☐ Agree  
2. ☐ It depends  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Don't know
73. "The federal government should discipline college students who disrupt college campuses by cutting off government funds for higher education and students."  
1. ☐ Agree  
2. ☐ It depends  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Don't know
74. "The federal government has extended too much control over state and local governments through federal grants of money at the expense of state and local governments' freedom of action."  
1. ☐ Agree  
2. ☐ It depends  
3. ☐ Disagree  
4. ☐ Don't know



75. "A man should have the right to do what he wants with his private property and not have to be told what to do by the federal government as long as he doesn't endanger or hurt anyone else."
1. ☐ Agree
  2. ☐ It depends
  3. ☐ Disagree
  4. ☐ Don't know
76. "How great a danger do you feel American Communists are to this country at the present time?"
1. ☐ A very great danger
  2. ☐ A great danger
  3. ☐ Some danger
  4. ☐ Hardly any danger
  5. ☐ No danger
  6. ☐ Don't know

Are there any comments you would like to make about issues, candidates, social problems, or the questionnaire?